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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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# CHINA REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## PARTY AND STATE

### CCP'S INDEPENDENCE OF SOVIET CONTROL SAID VITAL TO SUCCESS

Shanghai HUADONG SHIFAN DAXUE XUEBAO [JOURNAL OF EAST CHINA NORMAL UNIVERSITY]  
in Chinese No 1, 25 Feb 82 pp 1-4

[Article by Zhang Yueming [1728 2588 2494]: "Independence and Internationalism"]

[Text] Independence is a spirit of Mao Zedong Thought. Comrade Mao Zedong long ago declared: "We the Chinese nation have the spirit to fight the enemy to the last drop of our blood, the determination to recover our lost territory, and the ability to stand on our own feet in the family of nations." At the same time, he pointed out: "This is not to say that we do not require international support; no, international support is indispensable for the revolutionary struggles in all modern countries and nations." After establishment of the capitalist world's economic system, the long-standing situation in which feudal societies were closed to international intercourse and were not interrelated was ended, the economic and political relations among various countries of the world became extremely close, and the people's struggles in various countries became interrelated. In the struggle against international imperialism, the proletariat of various countries and the oppressed nations are mutually supportive. However, to overthrow the rule of international capital, "the proletariat of every country must overthrow the bourgeoisie in their own country." The proletariat in various countries must engage in revolutionary activity on the political stage of their own countries, and this requires that the vanguard--the communist party--with all forms of support from the international proletariat, in line with the specific conditions in a given country, apply the basic principles of Marxism, independently formulate correct principles, policies, and lines, and carry out well revolution and construction in the given country before it can strongly support the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat. Therefore, to insist on independence is precisely the embodiment of proletarian internationalism.

With regard to Chinese communists, independence fell into two categories: The first was that we did not yield to the armed pressure of imperialism and were not misled by its blandishments, but through several decades of bloody struggle finally "stood on our own feet in the family of nations." The second was that within the international communist movement, no matter whether it was before or after the founding of the state, under the leadership of the

party and Comrade Mao Zedong, no matter what difficulties we encountered we did not waver in our independence and self-reliance. In the latter aspect, we have profound experiences and lessons.

When the advanced elements of the Chinese proletariat began to engage in revolutionary activity, they obtained support from the international proletariat. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" points out: "The CCP is a product of the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the Chinese workers' movement, and it was born under the influence of the Russian October Revolution and our country's 'May Fourth' movement and with the help of the Comintern led by Lenin."

Not long after the victory of the October Socialist Revolution, the Comintern, set up in Moscow, was founded in a period of a high tide of revolution in Europe and amid the struggle against the revisionism of the Second International. Owing to the historical conditions at that time, the Comintern organization had two important characteristics. The first characteristic was that the Bolshevik Party enjoyed high prestige in this organization, and the Bolshevik Party's experience became the "model" for the parties of various countries to study. Following the consolidation of Soviet political power and the development of the cause of building the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union became "the core of the proletariat in various countries and the center of the international communist revolution." (See "Comintern Resolutions") The second characteristic was that the Comintern was a tight and highly concentrated organization, and in reality it was a united communist party of a global nature. Its constitution clearly stipulated: Any country's party that joins the Comintern is the branch of the latter; the permanent leading Executive Committee of the Comintern issues instructions to its branches, supervises their activities, and if it discovers that a subordinate branch has violated its programs or resolutions it has the power to annul the branch's decisions, and can even expel the entire branch or some of its members from the Comintern. In order to implement Comintern resolutions, the Executive Committee sent specially appointed representatives to the various branches, and these representatives were often people trusted by the Soviet party. All these stipulations indicate that ideologically, politically, and organizationally the Comintern and the communist parties in various countries played the binding roles of the leader and the led.

From the founding of the Comintern to the holding of its fourth congress in 1911, communist parties were set up in 58 countries. The CCP was also set up in this period with concrete help from the Comintern. This help was manifested in: 1) the program, line, and general and specific policies formulated by the Comintern played a direct role in the determination by the Chinese party of its program and line, and the "Outline for National Colonies" and "Outline on the Land Question" adopted by the Comintern raised some fundamental problems that had to be solved in carrying out national democratic revolutions in the imperialist era; 2) the Comintern directly dispatched people to help in the founding of the Chinese party and, together with the leaders of the Chinese party, to determine the policy and line at important

junctures in the revolution; and 3) a batch of theoretical cadres and the party's working cadres were trained for the Chinese revolution at Sun Yat-sen University and Eastern Toilers University in the Soviet Union. In this respect the Comintern's contributions were positive, and the CPSU gave direct support to the Chinese revolution.

However, in this century, in the late 1920's and early 1930's, there emerged in the international communist movement a mistaken tendency to make Marxism a dogma and to make the resolutions of the Comintern and the experience of the Soviet Union sacred. When he was living, Lenin paid full attention to opposing within the international communist movement the revisionist ideological trend of the Second International, and exposed its theoretical mistake of deviating from the basic principles of Marxism. After Lenin passed away, Stalin inherited Lenin's work. In directing the work of the Comintern, Stalin emphatically criticized the tendency toward social democracy and continued to oppose the danger of Right deviation. But, during the course of struggle, Stalin developed the deviation of dogmatizing Marxism and, without asking about the circumstances and causes, demanded that the parties in various countries copy mechanically the experiences of the Soviet revolution. Owing to the special position of the CPSU in the Comintern and the high prestige it enjoyed among the parties of various nations as the party of the first socialist country, this dogmatic deviation had a direct effect on the parties of the other countries. The resolutions of the Comintern and the experience of the CPSU were regarded as "paragons of Marxism-Leninism," the "only correct line," the only models to learn from, and rules that could not be disobeyed. The specially appointed personnel sent by the Comintern became within the fraternal parties "imperial envoys" who could "command everything." Actually, the circumstances in the various countries differed in thousands of ways. Some were imperialist countries, and some countries were still under the rule of the feudal patriarchal clan system and had even more backward forms of production. Even in the advanced capitalist countries of Europe, there were differences between the various countries in political and economic circumstances and in international relations, and the political tasks the parties faced were different. In addition, the headquarters of the Comintern was in Moscow, far from the various countries. It was difficult for this international center to solve the various kinds of problems in the revolutionary movement of every different country, and it was very hard for it to issue instructions that perfectly suited the circumstances in the various countries without making mistakes. If the Comintern's decisions had only been passed to the parties of the various countries for consultation, there would have been fewer problems. But the relationship between the Comintern and the parties of the various countries was that between the higher level and the lower level, between the leader and the led; it was an organizational principle that the decisions made by the Comintern had to be obeyed. Under these circumstances, if the leaders of the parties in the various countries lacked a high level of Marxist theory and made the Comintern's resolutions and the Soviet experience sacred, then they unavoidably would cause the revolution to suffer setbacks and damage. Making these things sacred "almost caused the Chinese revolution to go down a blind alley." As everyone knows, when the party in its infancy led the first revolutionary civil war, Chen Duxiu's rightist capitulationism soaked the revolution in a pool of blood; Wang Ming's leftist adventurism,

which emerged in the period of the second revolutionary civil war, caused the revolutionary forces of the White areas to suffer extremely great losses, the 300,000-man Red Army being reduced to about 30,000 men and the 300,000 CCP members being reduced to about 40,000 members. Naturally, we Chinese ourselves were responsible for these two serious mistakes, but it cannot be denied that they were both related to the Comintern, or that they were made because of an inadequate understanding of the internal class situation and the political forces inside China, or that they were made because the specially appointed representatives mechanically copied the Soviet experience and gave arbitrary and impracticable directions.

How was the Chinese revolution rescued from the "blind alley it had almost fallen into"? It was Comrade Mao Zedong and many outstanding leaders of our party who investigated and studied the situation obtaining the Chinese society, who profoundly analyzed the characteristics and laws of the Chinese revolution, and amid the practice of struggle gradually explored and found a path of liberation suited to China's national condition, viz, the countryside surrounding the cities, and finally seized the path to nationwide victory. This was a brilliant chapter in the CCP's independently finding the path for the Chinese revolution. The practice of the Chinese revolution gave a new meaning to independence: "finding ourselves the path of advance suited to the situation in our country." Mao Zedong Thought was precisely formed and developed gradually during the course of struggling against the mistaken tendencies of the Comintern and during the profound summing up of historical experiences in this respect.

During the antifascist war, the Comintern declared its own dissolution, but the CPSU's restricting role with regard to other fraternal parties and the Soviet Union's influence on other countries did not change because of this. After World War II, a series of people's democratic countries, including the PRC, were founded, and a socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union was formed, as well as a socialist world market on an equal footing with the imperialist world market. It was necessary to strengthen in all aspects cooperation between the fraternal parties and between the socialist countries so that they would jointly oppose the reactionary forces of international imperialism and jointly defend the security of the socialist countries and world peace.

The CCP and Comrade Mao Zedong paid full attention to acting in conformity with the principle of proletarian internationalism, protected the unity and cooperation between fraternal parties, and totally respected the views of CPSU leader Stalin. However, because of its experience in practice and its painful lessons, our party understood that if the revolutionary cause was to develop successfully, our starting point must continue to be based on independence. It is an undeniable fact that, with regard to handling postwar China's problems, the Soviet Union's attitude was not proper. In the big power conferences between America, Britain, and the Soviet Union, China was put in America's sphere of influence. After Japan's surrender, the United States masterminded a scheme for Chiang Kai-shek, in the vain hope that he would swallow up the Communist Party; and the Soviet Union urged the Communist Party to surrender its weapons and its armed forces and to unite in reverting to Chiang Kai-shek's leadership, after which the Communist Party was to provide officials with legal

status in the Kuomintang government in a so-called form of "cooperation." When U.S. Secretary of State Byrnes went to see Stalin, the latter said: "Support Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang. Only Chiang Kai-shek can be the leader of China; other people are not qualified." At that time, the Soviet leaders clearly expressed to Hurley and Hopkins that it was mainly up to America to help unite China and its armed forces, saying that the Soviet Union had many affairs of its own and could not spare the time from its main work, and clearly indicated that Chiang Kai-shek could be China's leader. They also said that wherever the Soviet armed forces went Chiang Kai-shek could set up an administrative structure for China. For the Chinese people, who were engaged in bloody, bitter battles in the war of resistance and to found a peaceful, democratic, independent, and new China, this stand taken by the Soviet Union naturally could not be accepted. The CCP led by Comrade Mao Zedong was not like it was in its infancy, when it obeyed the Soviet Union's orders in everything, but, based on our own actual situation, the CCP independently put forward the line and policy for action.

As a method of dealing with Chiang Kai-shek's vain attempt to capture the fruits of the victory in the war of resistance, our party put forward the policy of "giving tit for tat and fighting for every inch of land." In order to defend the fruits if victory, "the armed forces of the people would keep every rifle and bullet and not surrender a single one." An American said to Comrade Mao Zedong: "You should listen to Hurley and send several people to be officials in the Kuomintang government." Comrade Mao Zedong replied: "It is not good to be officials bound hand and foot, and we will not do so. If we were to do so, our hands and feet must be unbound, free and unrestrained. This is the democratic basis for forming a united government." If Chiang Kai-shek insisted on fighting a civil war, we were resolved to fight him to the end, thoroughly wipe out the reactionaries, and then build a new China. Chiang Kai-shek tore up the agreement reached at the Chongqing negotiations, challenged us to civil war, and attacked the liberated areas. Under the leadership of the CCP, the Chinese people waged the third revolutionary civil war. The Soviet Union did not approve of this, thinking that the United States had the atom bomb and if war broke out China would be destroyed. Chairman Mao, with indomitable revolutionary spirit, declared to the whole world that imperialism and all reactionaries were paper tigers, that the atom bomb was also a paper tiger, and that the masses of people would decide victory or defeat in a war and not new types of weapons. The PLA led by the CCP, with swift and fierce attacks, quickly smashed the several million-strong armed forces of the Kuomintang. The Soviet leadership then ordered us to stop before going too far. Based on the actual situation in our country, the CCP issued the battle call "to carry the revolution through to the end." It was precisely because of the correct policy and line formulated independently by our party that we were able to win victory in the third revolutionary civil war and found the PRC. Just imagine, if at that time we had not insisted on "independence" but had obeyed the Soviet Union's orders in everything, then we could not have been victorious in the war of liberation and we could not have united the mainland of the motherland. The victory of the Chinese democratic revolution was the result of the integration of the universal tenets of Marxism with the reality of the Chinese revolution, and was also the victory of the principle of independence.



Stalin was a great Marxist. With regard to the Chinese question, he once made this self-criticism: "After the war, we invited the Chinese comrades to come to Moscow to discuss the situation in China. At that time we frankly told them that we didn't think there were any prospects for an uprising in China, that the Chinese comrades should seek a temporary agreement with Chiang Kai-shek, join his government and disband their armed forces. The Chinese comrades agreed with the views of the Soviet comrades while they were here, but after returning to China their actions were a different matter. They concentrated their strength and organized their armed forces, and now, just as we have seen, they have defeated Chiang Kai-shek's armed forces. With regard to the Chinese case, we now admit that we were mistaken. Facts have proven that the Chinese comrades, and not we, were correct." Afterward, when the CCP lecture leaders went to Moscow and met with Stalin, he said humorously: "You were victorious," "You were correct, victors are not punished."

When Stalin was living, the Soviet Union's approach to fraternal parties and fraternal countries was one of great-nation chauvinism, and the most prominent example of this was its intelligence agency's mistaken decision in 1948 with regard to the Yugoslav question. Within the socialist camp, the Yugoslav comrades were the first to resist the Soviet Union's great-nation chauvinism and defend their own nation's independence; and the Yugoslav comrades were the first to criticize the existing malpractices in the Soviet Union's model of building socialism, to find the specific path for Yugoslavia's building of socialism, and set a good precedent for the struggle model of building socialism.

When Stalin was alive, the Chinese party and government, in its internal and external policies, did not diverge much in principle from those of the Soviet Union. Whenever the Soviet Union displayed a certain amount of great-nation chauvinism toward China, our party responded appropriately and between the two countries there grew contradictions and disharmony. To sum up, we defended the principle of independence and the Soviet Union did not interfere excessively in our affairs.

However, after the Khrushchev-Brezhnev cliques took over supreme power in the Soviet party and state, their great-nation chauvinism swelled malignantly until it developed into social-imperialism, they completely betrayed proletarian internationalism, and they practiced hegemonism in a big way. In its struggle to contend with U.S. imperialism for world hegemony, the Soviet Union tried to further control the socialist camp and make the camp its "sphere of influence." They interpreted internationalism as meaning that other socialist countries had to obey the Soviet Union's orders; their reach was very long as everywhere they contended for spheres of influence. Naturally, the Soviet Union would not let go of China with its vast territory, and in whatever "combined fleet" or "long-wave radio station," you simply had to obey the Soviet Union's command and be subordinate to its control. The Chinese nation, which had gone through a long period of bloody struggle to become independent, certainly could not put up with being controlled by another country. The Khrushchev clique, which regarded itself as always being able to command, flew into a rage from shame and, taking advantage of a period of economic

difficulties in our country created by leftist mistakes and natural calamities, put pressure on us, thinking it would force us to yield to it. It was they--the Khrushchev clique--who first engaged in polemics; it was they who used their actual economic strength to press us for payment of debts; and it was they who tore up contracts and withdrew experts, thinking that by this they could put the Chinese people in a fatal position. The Chinese people were of unyielding character and, under the leadership of the party and Comrade Mao Zedong, no matter what kind of difficulties they encountered and self-reliant and to never submit to any external pressure. By readjusting the national economy and overcoming temporary difficulties, we increased the public accumulation of funds on the basis of developing production and repaid all the Soviet loans (which were principally munitions loans made during the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea). People throughout the country worked with a will to make the country strong, relying on their own experts and technical forces and unearthing the country's natural resources so as to build up the national economy. On the theoretical front, we launched debates in which with regard to questions of principle a clear distinction was made between right and wrong, thereupon breaking through the Soviet Union's "unified domain" that had been formed for a long time. Because we insisted on independence, internationally we won the sympathy and support of the people of the world.

Following the growth of the Soviet Union's actual economic strength, its great-nation chauvinism broke out malignantly and became social-imperialism, which, from controlling the development of the political and economic affairs of other countries to dispatching troops and making armed incursions, wantonly trampled on the principle of proletarian internationalism. The CCP and Comrade Mao Zedong with vigilance watched the actions of the "polar bear." The Chinese people defended their national honor and went against them. Not resigned to this opposition, they thought of seizing our country's Zhenbao Island but were rebuffed; they deployed a million troops along our border and caused frequent border clashes; and they built a ring of military encirclement around China and instigated Vietnam to challenge us to a war. The party and Comrade Mao Zedong constantly educated the people to maintain a high degree of vigilance, to defend the independence and security of the motherland, to set up an international united front against hegemonism, and to create an international environment conducive to the building of socialism in our country. When the Chinese people have independently built a prosperous socialist country, they can vigorously support the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat and the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations, thus fulfilling the proletarian internationalist obligations that the people of our country have assumed. The matter is very clear: if we do not carry out a tit-for-tat struggle against social-imperialism but let it be as overbearing as it wishes, the Chinese nation will again fall under the control of a different nation and the international communist movement will suffer even greater damage.

The 60-year history of the CCP's revolutionary struggle indicates that only by unswervingly defending the independence of the party and state can we always be in an invincible position. And upholding independence also means to uphold the principle of integrating Marxism with the practice of the Chinese

revolution, to uphold the principle that practice is the sole criterion for testing truth. Only by from beginning to end making social practice the basis and proceeding from reality in everything, can we make the cause of revolution and construction in our country continually go from victory to victory. Comrade Zhou Enlai said: "No matter whether in revolutionary struggle or construction undertakings, the Chinese people consistently adopt the policy of making self-reliance primary and the striving for foreign aid secondary...the Chinese people mainly rely on their own strength, and for them to build socialism well in a country with one-fourth of the world's population is in itself a contribution to all humanity, and can also be the best fulfillment of their own inter-nationalist obligations." Comrade Mao Zedong, who was the leader of our party in this very long and arduous struggle, made outstanding contributions to the upholding of the principle of independence and deserves to be called the greatest national hero in the history of the Chinese nation.

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CSO: 4005/789

## PARTY AND STATE

### MAINTAIN NATIONAL DIGNITY IN FACE OF FOREIGNERS

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 1 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Gao Xingchuan [7559 5201 2504]: "Keep National Pride in Mind When Dealing With Foreigners"]

[Text] As a result of the development of foreign relations and tourism, there has been an increase in contacts between China and other countries. Out of this development has come an awareness of the need to put the interests and national pride of the motherland above all else in the handling of foreign affairs and friendly visits. We must understand that whatever we do under such circumstances will leave a mark in the minds of foreigners. The Zhuoxian County Tourist Hotel in Hebei Province has won admiration for its beautiful environment, for its warm, thoughtful and quality services, and for its emphasis on treating foreign guests in a civilized way. A foreign guest said: "I appreciate your excellent services, which have made my stay here a very happy memory. I am looking forward to coming here again during my next trip to China."

Doing a good job calls for practical action, We must count on our own ways of thinking, our own style of work, and our own practical performance to develop the foreign policy of the party and government, and build a spiritual civilization fitting the Chinese people. Ours is a country with an ancient civilization. The people in our country have won praise from many foreign friends and visitors for their polite and civilized manners, for their selfless devotion to others, for their willingness to help others, for their spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle, for their practice of collectivism, and for their excellent tradition of unity and mutual assistance. During the past few years, our province has received many letters sent by foreign friends praising those on the staff of our restaurant-hotels, bus convoys, and commercial stores for their honesty and trustworthiness. These foreign friends have called the Chinese virtue of returning lost money to their owners and being willing to help others a noble deed that is worthy of their acknowledgment. Don't you see that these comrades have already done something graceful on behalf of our motherland and people?

But there are other things that deserve our great attention. For example, during some completely unexpected encounters with foreigners, some of our comrades have obtrusively tried to contact them as though they were old

acquaintances or friends. Some have even invited foreigners to their homes as guests without the knowledge of their organizations. Some have button-holed foreigners or interrupted their activities in areas near their living quarters, on the street, or at their activity centers, where they have forced foreigners to teach them foreign languages, to give away things against their wishes, and to pose for photographers. This behavior reflects a total insensitivity to civil courtesy and a lack of concern of the impact it may create in the minds of foreigners. It is also a wrongdoing that is offensive to the sense of national pride and national dignity. I hope that the civil courtesy activity now underway in our country will play a role in overcoming this unhealthy tendency.

Strengthening our sense of national dignity and self-confidence and maintaining our national pride and honor constitute a duty that should be shared by every citizen in our country.

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CSO: 4005/809

## PARTY AND STATE

### RECTIFY PARTY'S WORKSTYLE; MAINTAIN SOCIAL ORDER

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 2 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Youg Xi [0516 1835]: "Keep the People in High Spirits in the Course of Rectifying the Party's Workstyle"]

[Text] The call issued by the Party Central Committee this year to score greater successes in improving the party's workstyle, public security, and social climate fully reflects the aspirations of the broad masses of party members and people. The key to success in realizing these three great improvements lies in rectification of the party's workstyle. By using the party's workstyle to guide the civilian lifestyle, we can enhance the order and stability of our society as a whole, and bring about improvements in the social climate. The measures taken by the Shanxi Provincial Party Committee with the aim of helping party committees at all other levels resolutely to prevent cadres from building private homes for themselves--a starting point in the direction of banning all other unhealthy tendencies--have received a strong response from the people throughout the province. From this activity, the masses of people have gained hope and confidence in rectifying the party's workstyle and in making it move in the correct direction.

Although much has been done and remarkable success has been scored by the province in rectifying the party's workstyle since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party's unhealthy workstyle remains a serious problem of universal concern. Now what commands our attention are the adulterated forms of ideology, style of work, and organization that still need to be purified, the leading bodies which remain in a state of disarray and weakness, and the cases of violations of law and discipline. Also noteworthy are various slogans used by some comrades as a refutation or in direct contravention of the political line and policies adopted by the Party Central Committee, and the ultraindividualism and the irresponsible and dilatory styles of work practiced by some party members and cadres who do not have good spirits. Some have even gone so far as to abuse their authority and embezzle funds from the state or collective treasury in order to build private homes for themselves on farmland they have taken without authorization. Even worse is the fact that a few party members and cadres have shamelessly embarked on economically profiteering activities involving smuggling, trading in contraband goods, corruption, embezzlement, blackmail, extortion, bribery, and conversion of state property into private ownership by cheating. Such activities

have been condemned by the broad masses of party members and people. If we fail to pay close attention to such problems and are not determined to resolve them, whatever we do will become meaningless.

The rectification of the party's workstyle is a guarantee of the successful implementation of the party's political line. The political line, principles, and policies adopted by our party since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee have proved correct. But if adulterated forms of ideology, styles of work, and organization are allowed to exist, we will find it impossible to thoroughly implement the party's correct line or to realize the four modernizations. Furthermore, we must understand that the masses often tend to evaluate our party in terms of the performance of its members and cadres. Only after the party's workstyle is rectified can the civilian lifestyle develop along sound lines. This can be substantiated by this ancient Chinese saying: "As long as you behave yourself, your subordinates will follow you automatically; if you do not behave yourself, your orders will mean nothing to them." As long as our party members and cadres can strictly discipline themselves, institute clean government to serve the public interest, and act as models in implementing the party's line, principles, and policies, the broad masses will never hesitate to follow their orders, and will sincerely take orders from the party.

Today, a lack of confidence in the ability of the party to rectify its workstyle has led some of our comrades to mistakenly believe that our party is now in the "terminal stage of illness." There are also some people who have dramatized themselves as good guys in the face of the struggle against unhealthy tendencies. After disavowing their commitment to the lofty ideals of communism, some comrades have even become obsessed with the reactionary philosophy of life, saying: "If man does not work for himself, he will be damned by heaven and earth." Because they have sunk so low to the level of evils, they can no longer extricate themselves from a predicament of their own making. To say the least, these comrades have become so shortsighted that they appear unaware of the positive factors that exist in the ranks of the party, and they are in danger of losing their confidence in the strength of the party and the people. Of course, we cannot underestimate the serious situation resulting from the practice of the party's unhealthy workstyle, nor can we ignore the conditions favorable to its rectification or the main trend of the party life that is reflected in the determination of party members and cadres to preserve the party's excellent tradition and workstyle. Also deserving of our attention are the determination of the Party Central Committee to rectify the party's workstyle and the series of effective measures it has taken in this direction. The broad masses of people have lodged strong protests against the unhealthy styles of work practiced by some party members. Although some unhealthy styles of work resulting from the 10 years of turmoil are deep-rooted and cannot easily be dislodged from the minds of party members, we have ample reason to believe that as long as our entire party works with one heart and one mind, the party's workstyle will certainly begin to show signs of improvement year after year.

Since the current situation favors rectifying the party's workstyle, Communist Party members must work more energetically than ever, and must use criticism

and self-criticism as a weapon to promote healthy workstyles and eliminate unhealthy ones, and to weed out the old and bring forth the new. They must work and struggle hard to restore and carry forward the party's excellent workstyle and stamp out unhealthy lifestyles.

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CSO: 4005/809



## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### MILITARY DISCIPLINE IN XI'AN AREA STRENGTHENED

Xi'an SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 2 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Dong Xianglin [5516 4382 2651], Ju Jiefang [1565 6043 2397] and Liu Gang [0491 0474]: "A Firm Hold Taken On Military Conduct and Discipline Is Beginning To Yield Results--The Provincial Military District and Troops Stationed in the Xi'an Area Take a Letter From the Masses Seriously"]

[Text] Troops stationed in the Shaanxi Military and the Xi'an area have sincerely listened to the criticisms made by the masses and have adopted measures to educate and supervise the military discipline of military personnel moving through Xi'an and other areas, and results are already evident.

Not long ago, two comrades with the pen names Liu Fei [0491 7378] and Li Zhongqiang [2621 0022 1730] wrote a letter to Comrade Du Yide [2629 5030 1795], Commander of the Lanzhou Unit, and Xiao Hua [5135 5478], First Political Commisar of the unit, criticizing the military conduct and discipline of the military personnel moving through the Xi'an area, saying that some were baring their chests and wearing their hats at an angle; some were dangling cigarettes from their mouths and carrying satchels; some were growing beards and long hair; and individual female soldiers were wearing earrings and rings--creating a bad impression on the masses. Having received the letter, on 8 March Comrade Du Yide forwarded it to the Shaanxi Provincial Military District, noting that it was worth looking over and requesting that it be posted among the troops stationed in Xi'an and that forceful measures be taken to correct matters. On 9 March, the leading comrades of the Shaanxi Provincial Military District received the letter. They held a meeting of concerned comrades on the afternoon of 10 March to consider measures for correcting the improper discipline on the part of military personnel in transit; subsequently they held a meeting of leading comrades of all units above the regiment level in Xi'an and the surrounding vicinity where they distributed copies of the letter from Comrades Liu Fei and Li Zhongqiang and the comments of Comrade Du Yide, and considered measures to improve the military conduct and discipline of the troops stationed in and moving through Xi'an.

Afterwards, all units immediately swung into action. A certain unit stationed in Shaanxi promptly held a tele-conference requesting that officers and men

pay specific attention to military conduct and discipline when they go off base. After the tele-conference, the chief of staff led agency cadres to the major transportation lines to check on military personnel in transit. Leading cadres of an air force unit stationed in Shaanxi, the Fourth Army Medical College, the Xi'an Political School, the Xi'an Garrison Command and troops stationed at Xianyang successively went out on the streets to make checks. Shaanxi Military District Headquarters decided that: the comrades in charge of every department and office at headquarters would take turns keeping watch on the streets every Tuesday and Friday; the major leading comrades of the Provincial Military District would take turns making checks on the street once every week. On 14 March, the Provincial Military District Political Commisar, Cai Changyuan [5591 7022 0337], put on a red armband and accompanied comrades from headquarters to the train station to keep watch. Commisar Cai saw a soldier walking down the road with his shirt open and his hat on crooked and personally strode forward to straighten his hat and button his shirt and then seriously said, "Junior comrade, you must consciously maintain military conduct and discipline to do credit to the PLA!" The soldier, with some embarrassment, said, "Senior Officer, I made a mistake. From now on, I shall reform."

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### REGIMENTAL PARTY COMMITTEE SUPPORTS STRICT ENFORCEMENT OF DISCIPLINE

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 31 Mar 82 p 3

[Article: "The Party Committee Firmly Supports the Impartial Handling of Matters By the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline--An Artillery Regiment Promptly Handles Instances of Breaches of Discipline By Party Cadres"]

[Text] The party committee of a PLA artillery regiment has actively supported the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline in its enforcement of party regulations and discipline, seeing to it that 17 instances of violations of law and discipline were dealt with seriously and hastening an obvious turn for the better in the party style.

Once, someone brought it to light that a battalion commander had exchanged a welding rod some place for a steel tube to be used as personal furniture. The party committee and the commission for the inspection of discipline of the regiment was thoroughly embarrassed to discover that the matter involved 3 leading cadres who were in the regiment at the time (all on the standing committee of the party committee). Yu Fengshan [0060 7685 1472], Secretary of the Regimental Party Committee and Political Commissar, convened 3 party committee meetings to study the matter, unify thinking and support the commission's establishment of a study panel to check into and deal with the matter. After the matter had been investigated, the battalion commander and the 3 leading cadres were severely criticized and were instructed to make penetrating self-criticisms, and the steel tube, lumber and other materials that had been used were taken back.

Three batteries of the regiment violated financial regulations by using improper methods to purchase bicycles, which led to bad results. When handling this case, the commission for the inspection of discipline decided to severely criticize those involved and instructed them to return the bicycles. But because a leading comrade of the regiment came forward to speak on behalf of his subordinates and suggest that the batteries be allowed to keep the bicycles, for a time, the commission's decision could not be carried out. After the regimental party committee learned of this, it criticized that leading cadre and upheld the correct decision of the commission. The 3 batteries all returned the bicycles and several persons with primary responsibility for the affair paid for the financial losses

incurred. After this, experts on the regimental party committee made the regulation: it is not permitted to use personal position or authority to arbitrarily involve oneself or interfere with the work of the commission for the inspection of discipline.

This regimental party committee also upholds principle without concern for people's sensibilities when dealing with persons or matters that involve leaders at higher levels, and it supports the commission for the inspection of discipline in its handling of matters in accord with party principles. Once, the regimental party committee commission for the inspection of discipline heard a case involving the son of a high level leading cadre who was speculating in silver dollars, and the phone calls on his behalf just kept coming. The regimental party committee spoke with one voice in rejecting each of them and supporting the work of the commission. The commission for the inspection of discipline seriously dealt with the son of the high level leading cadre.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### IMPORTANCE OF 'YANAN TALKS' STRESSED

Beijing SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [CURRENT REPORTS] in Chinese No 3, 1982 pp 86-87

[Article by Zhong Han [6945 1383]: "They Are the Only Source"]

[Text] Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" was published 40 years ago. Since then, under the guidance of the spirit of the "Yanan Talks," our revolutionary literary and art movement has made very great progress. Our literary and art workers have accepted and grasped the only materialist principle expounded in the "Talks" that the life of a given society is the source of literary and artistic works. They have consciously, or fairly consciously, strengthened the close ties between their creation and the life of the people, and have produced a great number of works throbbing with the pulse of the times and voicing the people's aspirations during the late period of the democratic revolution, during the period of socialist revolution and construction, and in the current new historical period towards socialist modernization. Historical experience has proved that this entirely materialist subject put forward in the "Talks" not only played in the past a tremendous role in guiding and promoting our literary and art movement but will also play the same important role in the future development of our socialist literature and art.

It is as if it is historically predestined that materialism, having grown up in its attack against the severe restrictions of idealism, will always go through a heated controversy with idealism in every step of its advance. Idealism also always tries to find certain faults with materialism as ammunition to make a breach in the camp of materialism. Some believers in materialism have sometimes also raised doubts about materialism and wavered because of certain mistakes committed by persons of their own camp. Marx and Engels had also reproached Feuerbach who later rejected materialism because of the mistakes of some materialists. On the problem about the relationship of literature and art with social life, the controversy between idealism and materialism has not disappeared on account of the birth and propagation of Marxist scientific tenets. On the problem of the source of literature and art, there are still multifarious views of idealism in opposition to Marxist views of materialism. In China, after the publication of Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks," although the majority of people have gradually accepted the materialist view on the problem of the source of literature and art, it is not true that nobody disagrees. During the period of the 10-year turmoil, this

correct view of Comrade Mao's was distorted and altered by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," so that some people even began to have doubts. The "gang of four" preached such fallacies as "proceeding from the line" and "the theme goes ahead of the rest," and they exerted a widespread pernicious influence. After the collapse of the "gang of four," though this pernicious influence has been somewhat eliminated, some comrades have deviated from the basic spirit of the "Talks" in another form of expression, and have fallen into the quagmire of idealism. For instance, some of them hold that real life cannot be taken as the source of all literary and artistic works, and that such source should be the knowledge and experience left behind by our predecessors. Others hold that in creation the writers depend mainly upon their effort in exploring their subjective world of "oneself." Still others reject things outside their own sentimental world, and take only their search for one's "individual spiritual world" as the new principle of aesthetics. Thus it can be seen that it is not an easy matter to persist in thoroughgoing materialism. On the road of getting to know materialism, anybody who hesitates or feels confused can possibly vacillate to idealism. Therefore, on the problem about the source of literature and art, it will not be without practical significance once again to study and understand the entirely materialist view as explained in the "Talks."

In his "Yanan Talks" Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "In the last analysis, what is the source of all literature and art? Works of literature and art, as ideological forms, are products of the reflection in the human brain of the life of a given society." In other words, the life of human society is the source of all literature and art. This materialist view of Comrade Mao's is complete because he affirmed clearly: "This is the only source, for there can be no other." It stops up any loophole through which idealism can intrude, and it upholds unswervingly the principle of materialism.

As a matter of fact, there has been consistently the view that there is not only one but also another source of literature and art. In ancient China there was the saying that "Literary works came originally from the Five Classics." It holds that the classical works of our predecessors and literary and artistic works in old books also constitute the source of literature and art. Some works have drawn their material from historical writings or old literature and art. They are then mistaken for examples of the other source of literature and art. Comrade Mao Zedong corrected this wrong view by saying: "Some may ask, is there not another source in books, in the literature and art of ancient times and of foreign countries? In fact, the literary and artistic works of the past are not a source but a stream; they were created by our predecessors and the foreigners out of the literary and artistic raw materials they found in the life of the people of their time and place." This exquisite judgment is truly a scientific summarization of many facts in the history of literature and art. Many of the traditional theatrical performances still on the stage today draw their material from the classical novels including "The Romance of Three Kingdoms" and "The Water Margin." However, these two classical novels are not the true source of the traditional theater because they are only the artistic reflection of the social life in the last years of the Han Dynasty and the Northern Song Dynasty and the social life of the times when the writers of these novels lived. The relationship

between traditional theater and classical novels is only similar to that between the leaves and branches of a tree, as their roots are the life of the people in history. Indeed, literary and artistic works must have materials for reference, and must draw on and use the legacy of various knowledge and experience of our predecessors. However, these are only some ideological and artistic materials which are likewise the products of the reflection in the human brain of the life of a given society and are not the true source of literature and art. If these things are also taken as the source of literature and art, it will be the same as taking the stream for the source, to take a certain mental product as the source of another mental product, and to turn back again to the line of idealism that consciousness decides life.

Perhaps some people will think that literature and art reflecting life is not like a mirror reflecting things directly in a purely objective manner but must go through the refraction of the authors' subjective world, and that all works are the description and revelation of their authors' subjective world, and show the authors' views and feelings about life. In that case, the source of literary and artistic works is not limited only to the objective life, but there is also the subjective world of the authors. Those who sum up literary and artistic works as the "new principle of aesthetics" of mainly expressing one's "individual spiritual world" and self-consciousness actually also think that literature and art may have another source, that is the source of the authors' subjective mentality.

Truly literature and art, as a special mental product, can be produced only after the social life is processed in the brain of the author. In the course of this processing, the product cannot but bear the subjective stamp of the author's knowledge, experience, thinking, sentiments and so forth. In depicting the image of the objective world, the works of literature and art naturally will embody factors of their authors' subjective world. For this very reason, all literary and artistic works can reflect social life in all kinds of forms and countless postures. However, the subjective world of any author's "self" can never be independent and isolated from the objective world, and all his knowledge, experience, thinking, sentiments, ideas, impressions and illusions are produced in the course of his contact with the objective world as right or wrong, normal or deformed reflections of the objective world. If author Zhou Libo [0719 4539 3134] had not come into contact with the surging land reform movement in the northeast liberated area, he could not have gained his profound experience and knowledge of the tremendous changes in the life and destiny of the Chinese peasants, and would have had no means to produce his "The Tempest." Similarly, the novel "Pioneers" has profoundly summarized the peasants' historical destiny on the road of a new life after the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, also because author Liu Qing [2692 7230] took part personally in the mutual-aid and cooperation movement at Huangfu Village and gained his knowledge in an artistic perspective. It is not the product of the author's self-consciousness. Those works which reveal the 10 years of turmoil, whether they are realistic and deepgoing or distorted and deformed, also are products of reflection in the brains of different authors of the complex social life during the 10 years of turmoil. The only thing is that some reflections are correct and others are wrong. In isolation of social life, the subjective world of an author's

"self" can only be a nonsensitive blank plate. How can this blank plate show like a fairy tale the miracle of literary and artistic works? If a person is isolated from the world and out of touch with reality, how can he create anything in his brain? Belinsky said correctly: "If art is conceived as something pure and exclusive, living in one's own special small world and having nothing in common with the other aspects of life, this kind of conception is abstract and illusory. Such art is nonexistent at any time and in any place."

In literary and artistic creation, it is necessary to stress the authors' role of the subjective world. Because, without the effective work of the authors' brains as a processing factory, it would be impossible to turn the raw material of social life into literary and artistic works correctly and profoundly reflecting social life in ideology. However, if we exaggerate the significance of the authors' subjective world in their works to such extremes as to replace social life and to be taken as the principal object of expression and the source of literary and artistic works, then not only will it be as absurd and ridiculous as looking for water from a dry well, but also it will certainly lead to the withering of literature and art in vitality. In recent years, a small number of works have appeared which cut themselves off from the reality of life and seek weird and uncanny plots, vulgar and narrow-minded expressions, just because they cut off their veins of life and suffer from anemia.

Comrade Mao Zedong's "Yanan Talks" refutes any idea of trying to look for the source of literature and art beyond social life, and presents a scientific explanation of the relationship between literary and artistic works and social life, and of the dynamic role of the authors' subjective world in their works. It not only solves completely the question about the source of literature and art but also solves the question about the relationship between literature and art on the one side and the times and the people on the other. Comrade Mao Zedong said that writers and artists must go into the life of the people, go into this broadest and richest source. This is exactly the correct policy to guide the development of literature and art according to the law of literature and art. As far as the writers and artists are concerned, only by understanding profoundly the topic of thoroughgoing materialism which Comrade Mao Zedong expounded on the question about the source of literature and art can they consciously make their works take root in the life of the people and get at the inexhaustible source. As China has now entered a new era of modernization, the development and prosperity of socialist literature and art will depend to a very great extent on more and more writers and artists achieving mastery through a comprehensive study of this subject of the source of literature and art by combining theory with practice, so that the works of socialist literature and art will be worthy of this new era of ours.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ANNIVERSARY OF 'YANAN TALKS' COMMEMORATED

Beijing SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [CURRENT REPORTS] in Chinese No 3, 1982 p 85

[Article by Tian Jian [3944 7035]: "Once Again Read the 'Yanan Talks'--In Commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of the Publication of Chairman Mao's 'Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art'"]

[Text] 1) We are living in a socialist country, and are now undertaking the "four modernizations." Therefore, as revolutionary literature, it is necessary to inspire the great masses and positively express their achievements, and as far as possible to make itself easily accepted and appreciated by the broad masses.

2) Politically the writers should keep themselves in line with the Party Central Committee and, on this basis, should also strive to maintain unity among themselves.

3) We hope that more works of literature and art will enter the ranks of the masses.

The national and popular style of literature and art is inseparable from writers going deep into life. This requires that the writers must study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought to correctly understand and analyze life. This is not only the demand of the current situation but also a demand of the law of literature and art. The reason is that what we call creation (including certain skills of writing) must make its stand on the living of the masses.

4) Whether we draw on the experience of advanced culture from abroad or carry forward our own fine literary traditions, we must always make our stand on the living of the masses, and hold firmly the demand of the time and the expectations of the people. This can only make the writers' individual character varied, and will not do the opposite.

5) If our writers are not infatuated with the outward appearance of life and do not have the determination to tap the people's hearts, they should participate in certain social activities to look for the sequence of people's ideas and open the door of the mental world. Thus, they will find that the road of popular literature and socialist literature is very bright and magnificent.

6) There are bound to be contradictions in life. When you solve the contradictions, you make a new step forward. In doing this, we must throw in our lot with the people and carefully pick up their language. You should be a practical worker of revolution and not simply an onlooker before you can talk about going deep into life. You cannot accomplish this by doing so once or twice. It should be a whole process of long observation and true understanding. However, it is a pity that some people disdain to give a thought to this.

7) Literature and art should depict the flowers and roots of life, and the writers and artists must live together with the people. This is particularly true with us who are working for socialism. "The people are the mother of literary and art workers." We should always remember this statement and think about it again and again.

8) The national and popular style can never be accomplished in one step. It has nothing in common with the life of the capitalist society and with bourgeois literature and art, and the bourgeois face and soul.

9) It is certainly undesirable to be pedantic. However, is it desirable to accept everything without distinguishing the essence from the dross, such as those who think that the moon is fuller in foreign countries than in China? The world is going forward. When we are transforming the objective world, we must also change our world outlook continuously. The reason is obvious.

10) The world is created by the working people. We should never consider ourselves always in the right, and should never think that the masses of people do not understand literature and art and only like simple things. In the past there were such literary works as "The Water Margin" and "The Romance of Three Kingdoms." Are they not handed down among the masses of people?

About all these above points, I myself am still learning and trying to know more and better. Let us encourage each other in our endeavors!

Written in early 1982

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PUBLICATIONS CARRY ARTICLES CRITICIZING POEMS BY YE WENFU

Beijing SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [CURRENT REPORTS] in Chinese No 1, 1982 pp 83-84

[Article by Li Wen [2621 2429]: "A Review of Ye Wenfu's Poems--A Summary of Articles Carried by JIEFANGJUN BAO, JIEFANGJUN WENYI [LIBERATION ARMY LITERATURE AND ART] and HEBEI RIBAO"]

[Text] On 1 November 1981, JIEFANGJUN BAO carried an article by Fan Shi [5400 4311] entitled "Is It a 'Bouquet' or a 'Bayonet'?" along with another article by Shi Guoshi [4258 0948 0099] entitled "Can Anyone Act in This Manner?"; in its November 1981 issue, JIEFANGJUN WENYI carried an article by Lu Yu [7120 5038] entitled "Hallucinations and Illusive Crises" along with another article by Ma Yunpeng [7456 0061 7720] and Wang Peifu [3769 3805 3769 1318] entitled "Fallacies Cannot Be Used To Distort the Truth"; on 5 January 1981, HEBEI RIBAO carried an article by Cheng Gang [2052 6921] entitled "Poems Must Be Used To Cheer Up the Spirit of the People" criticizing Ye Wenfu's poems entitled "Generals, Please Clean It Up" and "I Am a Flying Moth" and other works.

Fan Shi's article points out: "At the start of his poem and songwriting career, Comrade Ye Wenfu did give us some good poems. He was once praised by the people for composing a song in praise of PLA cadres and fighters entitled 'Cherish the Mountains' and other beautiful works extolling the happy life under socialism as contributions to the people. But over the past 2 years, he has pervaded his poems with the bourgeois liberalization trends of thought and erroneous ideas and has made their influence felt among the people. The more he writes, the further he moves in the wrong direction, and the fewer "bouquets" he can present to the people. What we can see in his works now is "thrust with bayonets reverberating with battle cries." Such bayonets are not directed at the enemy but at the high-level leading cadres of the party and the army.

The article further points out: "In his poem 'Generals, Please Clean It Up,' Comrade Ye Wenfu even goes so far as to compare our PLA generals to the generals of the feudal Chinese kingdoms 'who wore feather hats' and to Robespierre, head of the French Jacobins of the 18th century, who ended up being guillotined, and he raves: Generals, 'even if you die, you should keep your bodies clean.'" What is worse is Comrade Ye Wenfu's article entitled "Chronic Pains From the Emancipation of the Mind." In this article, he calls the generals merely small "flies" and those "superior to them" "tigers." It is clear that

he wants to direct his bayonet at the "proletarian revolutionaries characteristic of the backward class," "the party's supreme leaders," "leaders at all other levels," and "Yang Guang, second emperor of the Qin Dynasty" of modern times. He also wants to direct his bayonet at the so-called "feudal peasant" party, the "unscientific" socialist system, the dictatorship of the proletariat which stands for "the closed door political doctrine," the "insensitive" people, and "the ancient kingdom which still stubbornly lives behind the icy wall of the Middle Ages." "Obviously, his attempt is not to criticize the shortcomings of the generals or their mistakes but to distort and disgrace the image of our party, country and army and to attack them. May I ask where the author now stands? His literary works are full of distorted pictures of our real life, depictions that get the two different types of contradictions mixed up and that confuse the feudal rulers with the people's revolutionary leaders. Can we call this a deviation from the four basic principles and a prominent bourgeois liberalization tendency?"

Fan Shi's article further points out: "After the October Revolution, Lenin once said: 'If we find that bad bureaucratic styles of work exist in our management system, we should expose and struggle against them instead of covering them up. If anyone fails to pay attention to the contents of the new system and the fact that the working class is the founder and master of our Soviet-type nation during the struggle against loopholes in the new system, he is either out of his mind or mentally deranged.'" ("Selected Works," Vol 4, p 558) "In his struggle against the bureaucracy and 'other shortcomings,' Ye Wenfu seems to forget to pay attention to the difference between the old and new society and between old and new China." "The bureaucracy in the old society reflects the true nature of the system of exploitation of man by man, while the bureaucracy in the new society does not reflect its true nature. The socialist system is essentially opposed to the bureaucracy."

"How to gear literary and artistic works to distinguish correctly between the two different types of contradictions and to criticize the negative and backward aspects of life among the people is not only an ideological, epistemological and methodological problem but also a problem of class stand and attitude from the basic point of view. A writer or poet in a socialist country like ours must consider it necessary to take the position of the party in order to ruthlessly expose the enemies and enthusiastically extol the people. He should adopt a comradely rather than a hostile attitude toward the shortcomings that affect the people."

Comrade Lu Yu writes: "Undoubtedly, the existence of a bureaucracy and special privileges in our society today is an important problem which will have a corrosive effect on the party's workstyle and will pose an obstacle to the smooth development of the 'four modernizations,' a problem that commands our close attention. But a survey of our society as a whole shows that this phenomenon is a matter of secondary importance because it will not end up producing a 'bureaucratic class' in our party and country. Nor will it become the principal contradiction which may tend to change the nature of our society and the course of social development. The 'Resolution' adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee points out: 'After our socialist transformation is mainly completed, the principal contradiction that needs to be resolved in our country will be one between the people's growing desires to

improve their material and cultural life and the backward social productive forces.' This analysis of the current social principal contradiction in our country is correct. A grave mistake occurred during the 'Great Cultural Revolution,' when no efforts were made to grapple with this kind of principal contradiction and when resources were diverted to promote a great political revolution in which 'one class is allowed to overthrow another.'" "Today...a few people with ulterior motives have spread the fallacy that a 'bureaucratic class' has emerged in our party and therefore a struggle against the 'bureaucracy and special privileges' must be carried out by the people. Their aim is to discredit and shake the people's confidence in the four basic principles and to bring about disorder across the land. Our writers should never be fooled into echoing their line." The articles carried by JIEFANGJUN BAO and JIEFANGJUN WENYI point out: The prefaces to Comrade Ye Wenfu's two poems entitled "Generals, Don't Do That" and "Generals, Please Clean It Up" are perplexing and deceptive in the eyes of the public.

Ma Yunpeng, Wang Peifu, Shi Guoshi and other comrades of the PLA Engineering Corps point out: The allegation in Comrade Ye Wenfu's poems accusing a general of building a luxurious home for himself at the cost of several hundred thousand yuan in foreign exchange currency and buying a bathtub at a price of 10,000 yuan in local currency is "purely Alice in Wonderland" This allegation accusing the general of squandering several hundred thousand yuan in foreign exchange currency is purely a sensational fabrication which can be proved false by the fact that our country now exercises strict control over the remittance of foreign exchange currency. The allegation accusing the general of purchasing a bathtub at a price of nearly 10,000 yuan is also inconsistent with the fact that the "price of a most expensive and specially designed enamel bathtub now available in our country does not exceed 700 yuan" not to mention the price of nearly 10,000 yuan for a bathtub as charged. Shi Guoshi's article adds: "In a clear declaration, Comrade Ye Wenfu calls his poems fiction or artistic condensations of events. It goes without saying that as far as literary works are concerned, fiction and artistic condensations are not only permissible but also necessary. But it is commonsense that they should be true to life. I regret to say that the comrade who professes to 'tell the truth' at all times has concealed the truth from the ignorant readers. At one time, one may hear him defend his poems eloquently and say that they are essentially fiction, but at other times, one may hear him swear that his poems are based on facts. Out of such statements has emerged a contradiction that cannot be resolved even by Comrade Ye Wenfu himself. Which of the two allegations does he expect the readers to believe? It can be said that the vital part of his poorly written poems is untenable for it is presented in a perplexing, deceptive and confusing manner in the eyes of the public. In order to convince the people of his 'sincerity' and 'goodwill' in the course of framing sensational but false charges against someone, he often tries to present himself as a person very much concerned with the destiny of mankind or a 'rebel who is willing to risk being humiliated in order to argue his case before others.' This behavior is really a violation of the code of ethics to which a revolutionary poet should subscribe."

On 17 November 1981, JIEFANGJUN BAO carried an article on literature and art by Gu Quan [6254 3123] entitled "The Feeling of a Poet" criticizing Comrade Ye Wenfu's poem entitled "The Setting Sun." This poem, which contains only four

sentences, says: "Prayer has been said several times from the bottom of my heart. But it still cannot make you remain in this world. You have spent too much time in the air. You should come down to kiss the earth." Comrade Gu Quan wrote: Who is the "you" to which the poem refers? What thought and sentiment does the poem purport to express? A clear answer can come from the bottom of the heart of the author himself. But the readers can also figure out what it really means. Comrade Mao Zedong's lifetime contributions to the nation are so great that they cannot be erased from the hearts of the broad masses of people despite the fact that he made mistakes in his later years, mistakes that should not be covered up by us. But in the course of analyzing historical merits and demerits in concrete terms, we should not allow a fig-leaf to prevent us from seeing Mount Tai. A personal appreciation of life has led the vast numbers of our countrymen voluntarily to express their love and respect for their leader from the bottom of their hearts. When Comrade Mao Zedong left the world forever, plunging the entire nation in deep grief, there was an automatic outpouring of nostalgic thoughts and affection from the bottom of the people's hearts. The mistakes he made in his later years should be assessed and his life should be dispassionately judged with the same nostalgic thoughts and affection. But Comrade Ye Wenfu seems enjoying making fun of him through the composition of the poem "The Setting Sun." Expressing his personal thought and feeling in this way has nothing in common with the attitude of the broad masses toward their leader. Clearly, there is a disagreement between Comrade Ye Wenfu and others in the country over how to come up with conclusions on what is right and what is wrong and what is good and what is bad. "Comrade Ye Wenfu once said that the secret that led him to success was his loyalty to his feeling and his identity." But we should never forget that a poet has no alternative but to identify his feeling with that of the broad masses. Pushkin, a poet of the Tsarist era, once said: "My voice of justice always echoes the Russian people." This means that he regarded his poems as a reflection of "himself." Does he consider that he has lagged even behind a bourgeois poet of the 19th century in this respect?

Comrade Cheng Gang's article carried by HEBEI RIBAO says: "Although Comrade Ye Wenfu has come up with some good poems in the past, I began to think there was something wrong with his emotion and stand the day I read his poem 'Generals, Please Clean It Up' (see issue No 1 of LOTUS POND, 1981) along with another poem 'I Am a Flying Moth' (see issue No 3 of OCTOBER, 1981). 'Our people's army has many generals who have survived the hail of bullets and artillery fire and who have distinguished themselves in bloody battles. Today, they are still working hard for the people, while making themselves the mainstay of our people's revolutionary army now ready to modernize itself. Earlier, I was moved to tears by reading a newspaper report on an anecdote about General Luo Shunchu [5012 5293 0443]." "Our true PLA generals cannot be represented by the 'phony generals' as portrayed in the poem 'Generals, Please Clean It Up.' Realism in literature and art should typify true characters and their personalities." "Everyone can predict what effect a sensational literary work will have on society if it is proved to be unfaithful to artistic realism."

Cheng Gang's article says: "Comrade Ye Wenfu's intention in composing the poem 'Generals, Please Clean It Up' is not accidental at all. A mere reading of his poem 'I Am a Flying Moth' can help us easily find the crux of the problem. In

the poem 'I Am a Flying Moth,' there is no single ray of hope visible to us. It is filled from beginning to end with such terms as 'silent and dark nights,' and 'murder, terror, conspiracy, intrigue, ambition, underhanded tricks, cunning and cheating, foolish arrogance, cancer of power, absurdity, betrayal, compromise, overbearing, bribery, slave mentality, degeneration, pride in being parasites, view plunder as sacred....' The poem says: the only 'deceptive' light I can see is emitted by 'playful' 'fireflies.' Only 'a heroic death' will lead me to see a powerful China when I gaze into a blazing fire...." Such remarks are clearly a distortion of real life or reality. Cheng Gang's article says: "Although our society has its dark side, its bright side still prevails over its dark side. If anyone wants to dramatize our great socialist undertaking and our great struggle being carried out by 1 billion Chinese people as a big mess, he will certainly end up putting himself in a position hostile to the party and people. The reason Comrade Ye Wenfu's recent works have given the people a dismal feeling probably stems from this fact. This proves that adherence to the four basic principles is very significant for literary and artistic workers in reflecting life along sound lines."

These articles also unanimously express the hope that Comrade Ye Wenfu will be able painfully to sum up his experiences and lessons and change his stand in this connection, to break with the bourgeois liberalization tendency, to turn his poems into daggers directed at the true enemy of socialism, bouquets presented to the party and people, or songs in praise of the beautiful socialist life, songs that can inspire the people to work with one heart and one mind to bring the four modernizations program to a successful conclusion.

9574

CSO: 4005/756

REPORT ON DENG XIAOPING'S TRIP TO SOUTH CHINA

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 3, 1982 pp 7-10

[Article by Luo Bing [5012 0393]: "On the Trail of Deng Xiaoping"]

[Text] The Busy Hu Yaobang

"The staff at Zhongnanhai are 'heading out in all directions.'"

"Only about half the number of secretaries in the Secretariat of the Central Committee remain in the capital."

These were the "secrets" revealed to me by several friends in Beijing prior to the Spring Festival.

They presented a long list of people and places: Peng Chong [1756 5897] has gone to Fujian; Wang Zhen [3769 7201] has gone to Hainan; Yang Dezhi [2799 1779 1807] has gone to Guangdong; and several secretaries have gone to Guangdong and Fujian.

My view is that "this will cause Hu Yaobang to have to work even harder."

One friend told me: "Indeed, he is probably the busiest politician in the world. At present, he is striving to correct party style, streamline the administrative structure, etc. The All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles has just convened a general meeting. It is said that Hu Yaobang will attend a series of conferences and give a speech.

There are two objectives: first, to bolster the morale of the literary and art world and allow them to feel assured in producing creative works: second, to emphasize the leadership of the party in the sphere of literature and art...."

Why have so many important people gone to Guangdong? This is the question that intrigued me the most. A person with high-level contacts told me: "Deng Xiaoping will also be in Guangzhou during the Spring Festival."

I realized that major news may be unearthed in Guangzhou.



As far as a news reporter is concerned, new and significant news must be able to excite the nerves even more than stimulants. Therefore, I gave up the pleasure of spending the New Year's wrapping dumplings at a friend's home in Beijing. On the evening of 22 January, I boarded the southbound No 19 express train.

Every minute, I was consumed by the thought of following Deng Xizoping in search of news!

A special Train for Deng Xizoping?

On the 23rd, the train passed through Wuchang.

A middle-aged man who looked like a cadre came to the soft compartment in which I was traveling, replacing the "Hong Kong guest" who had just disembarked.

After we had chatted for a while, he told me in a low voice about an interesting episode that had occurred several days earlier.

On that day, although there had been no snow, it was very cold. He had gone to see a friend off at the Wuchang station. He had waited a long time in a room on the rear train. The platform was cordoned off so that only security personnel could enter. Even railroad attendants were turned away. For a while there was much discussion about this. There was a special train going south by way of Wuhan, and so the platform was cordoned off for nearly an hour. What was interesting was that to the rear and front of the VIP compartments were freight cars, and in the freight cars were several high-level officials. One could say they were heavily guarded.

"Whose special train was this?" I asked.

"Some people said it was Ye Jianying going south to escape the cold."

"That can't be." I firmly said: "I've heard that Ye Jianying plans to go to Conghua in Guangzhou, but he hasn't even left Beijing yet."

"Could it have been Deng Xiaoping?" A sly smile flashed across the face of this middle-aged cadre. I believe he was in the know.

A Chance Meeting With Deng Xiaoping

On my first day in Guangzhou, friends told me that Deng Xiaoping had arrived in Guangzhou.

I was very pleased and secretly hoped that I wouldn't fail in this job.

Why had Deng Xiaoping come south? What activities was he involved in? Were the rumors from abroad that he had been shot or was suffering from a serious illness all fiction? Is his health good? Does he have the leisure time to

celebrate the festival and play bridge?... A lot of unanswered questions flooded my mind. I resolved to find the answers to these questions in the southern city that Deng Xiaoping had come to visit.

At 3 pm on 28 January (the fourth day of the lunar month), I hurried downstairs and anxiously went to the reception room next to the first entrance door of the guesthouse to meet a "well-informed source." I believed that he would be able to give me some news about Deng Xiaoping. While I was walking through the main hall of the old building of the guesthouse (built before the "Cultural Revolution"); among the group of people surrounding the two "small peach blossom kings" a fairly short, familiar-looking person attracted my attention and caused my footsteps to falter in surprise.

Who was he?

Deng Xiaoping!

Before me was the person in the news that many reporters throughout the world had been searching for without discovering his whereabouts. This was an important opportunity for me to unearth a major news story.

Deng Xiaoping was wearing a dark gray, wool, cadre's outfit (he was not wearing an overcoat). He was looking at the peach blossoms on the large flower vase. The vase was about 2 meters high, taller than a man. He laughed with those who were clustered around him and exchanged a few remarks. Because those around him were somewhat taller than Deng, there were times when he was lost in this "sea of people." I couldn't make out which person accompanying him was Ren Zhongyi [0117 0112 1138] and which one was Liang Lingguang [2733 7227 0342]. All I could see was a group of 10 or so people, all wearing dark cadre's clothing. There were no military personnel in uniform.

After a moment, Deng Xiaoping and his entourage walked over toward the new building.

This "fleeting glimpse of greatness" could be said to be like "covering a story without covering a story." Deng Xiaoping's healthy countenance and smiling face as well as his calm and alert spirit removed all anxieties from the hearts of millions of people. He was not ill, nor had he been shot at. He would not disappoint the hopes of political circles....

The news value of the fortuitous meeting was great.

Not Idle During Recuperation

When I met my friend in the guesthouse, the first question he asked was: "Have you run into Deng Xiaoping?"

I told him about what I'd just seen and said: "There have been absolutely no precautions taken for Deng Xiaoping's visit to the guesthouse. This is surprising."

"This is normal. If a VIP's trip is extremely secret, then security precautions aren't necessarily taken. Have you forgotten the story of Deng Xiaoping's visit to Huangshan where he gave orders to remove the guards?"

This "well-informed source" told me that after Deng Xiaoping came south, he attended the Spring Festival get-together tea given by the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee. Aside from this, he hadn't participated in any meetings. He had come south to rest. Today he went to make an inspection tour of the newly-rebuilt, celebrated, Dongfang guesthouse (including the peaches and the amusement park). This was not work but rather an "event" that was part of his recuperation.

I asked: "You mean that Deng Xiaoping has done no work during this period of recuperation?"

"No, that's not true. Many problems have appeared in the rectification of Guangdong's party style, in the opposition to economic crimes, and in the move to streamline the administrative structure. There are some particularly serious problems with regard to opposing economic crimes. Deng Xiaoping naturally made inquiries into this. Local leaders also could not pass up this opportunity to rely on the support of such an important person as Deng. Of course there are also problems in the military. I'm sure you will soon know more about all this than I."

#### Execution of a Group of People

In mid-February I heard that Deng Xiaoping was returning north. I packed my bags and hurried back to Beijing.

In the 20-odd days that I was in Guangzhou, I met some old friends and made some new acquaintances. For the most part, they were the sources of my news report on Deng Xiaoping.

This is a method in which many speak out with one voice: Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang, Chen Yun, and Zhao Ziyang have set in motion a revolution consisting of two phases. The first is to rectify party style and fight economic crime, while the second is to streamline the administrative structure and eliminate old and feeble redundant personnel. After about half a year of ferment, planning, discussion, and research, they formulated policies, plans, steps and measures. Seventy-seven-year-old Deng Xiaoping accepted the advice of Hu Yaobang and the others to leave the capital for a short while for a "semi-recuperation," "Which would be of benefit in the upcoming battle."

Deng Xiaoping and the others were resolute concerning the two phases of the revolution. Because of unsound party style and the overstaffing of organizations, the party has long had low prestige. This may seriously affect the development of all undertakings throughout the nation. Whether or not there is a revolution in these two areas has already become the dividing line between the life and death of the CCP.

The resolve of Deng, Hu Chen, etc., to rectify party style can be seen in the "Talks to Leading Cadres" given after the Spring Festival to high-level cadres at level 12 and above. These talks were equivalent to a mobilization order. It is said that some VIP's spoke very incisively.

--We must disregard sensibilities and official position in uniformly and sternly dealing with (those who commit economic crimes).

--In particular we must catch key people in leading positions.

--Those whose crimes are particularly serious must be punished with the death penalty.

The document "An Urgent Notice on Fighting Crimes of Smuggling and Speculation" provided leading cadres at all levels with a clarification of principles and measures for opposing economic crimes.

It is reported that Chen Yun said that if we don't execute this group, then the party will perish. Furthermore, he said, among the small group that should be executed are the offspring of high-ranking officials engaged in foreign trade.

Of course, this news is reported for the sake of "recording everything one has heard." Further verification is needed.

#### Attacking a "Nation of Senior Cadres"

Deng, Hu, and the others also laid down resolutions concerning the streamlining of the administrative structure. Have you heard that there exists a "nation of senior cadres" in the world? The people of Beijing joke that China has tens of thousands of level 13 senior cadres (that is, prefectural party committee secretaries and above). There are enough to form a nation of senior cadres that has several times more people than Andorra. Deng and Hu are presently "attacking" this problem of a "nation of senior cadres." They intend to cut back on large numbers of senior cadres.

It is said that the approximately 100 ministries, commissions, and bureaus under the State Council will be simplified to 38 ministries. In each ministry there will be only one minister and two to four vice ministers. There will also be a reduction to three or four vice premiers.

The work of simplification in all ministries under the Central Committee must be completed during the first half of this year. If they set an example and model, it can be extended to the rest of the country.

#### Two Formidable Tasks

These two phases of the revolution are formidable, and success will not be easily won.

Some people reckon that simplifying the administrative structure is going to be more difficult than rectifying party style. However, there are actually many difficulties and obstacles in correcting unhealthy trends and fighting economic crime.

There is the case of Mao Xiaohong [3029 2556 3163], a bricklayer in Beijing who raped a 5-year-old girl. He was expelled from League membership. He underwent instruction for 3 years. Before his term was up, his membership in the League was renewed and he was promoted to cadre. Later on he was admitted to the party and acted as a county official and then became a Beijing official (in a foreign trade organization). In recent years he frequently smuggled and resold goods at a profit between Beijing and Guangdong, and he also raped a girl in Guangzhou. During those 6 years Mao Xiaohong went scot-free and gradually rose to higher positions. How was this meteoric rise possible? He must have had a backer. Who was his backer? His father--Mao Lianjue [3029 6647 3778], who once held the post of secretary in the Beijing Municipal CCP Committee and who currently holds the position of deputy secretary general in the State Council. Mao Lianjue is his umbrella, and Hua Guofeng's daughter was his sponsor for admission to the party. The case of Mao Xiaohong was finally resolved. However, were it not for the help of Deng Xiaoping's power and influence, political and legal institutions would have been incapable of action.

There is another example in Guangzhou. Wang Weijing [3769 4850 4842], bureau director of the Telecommunications Bureau and secretary of the party committee, and his wife, a CCP member, both engaged in smuggling and reselling goods. Staff and workers at the Telecommunications Bureau informed on them for years. Only on 1 February of this year was Wang Weijing arrested and brought to justice. (His wife was arrested in July last year.) Why did it take so long? Wasn't there someone also backing him? It was widely known in Guangzhou that Wang Weijing was finally captured because Deng Xiaoping "stepped in." It appears that there is support for this belief. In general, party officials who commit crimes are not expelled from party membership until after their case is decided. However, Wang Weijing was expelled from party membership only 7 days after his arrest. He had not yet been sentenced.

#### The Sons of Two High-Ranking Officials

A friend told me that Deng Xiaoping and the others have made Guangdong and Fujian national key points in the struggle against economic crime. The situation is very serious in these two provinces. There are numerous problems, particularly in Guangdong. In Fujian, Xiang Nan [7309 0589], the newly appointed first secretary of the provincial CCP committee, vigorously opposed smuggling and graft. His attitude was firm, and he struck out at a swarm of flies and a group of small tigers. The former first secretary's wife and son were tainted, and it seemed as if they wouldn't escape punishment. However, because several cases in Guangdong were so entangled, it was extremely difficult for them to do anything. The leadership in Guangdong and Guangxi intentionally made bringing Wang Weijing to justice a breakthrough in fighting economic crime. Can we influence criminals whose cases are much more serious than Wang Weijing's and who have even stronger backing?

There is an unconfirmed item of news that has spread from Beijing to Guangzhou. The sons of two very high-ranking officials have a great reputation for smuggling and reselling. As soon as this phase of the revolution has achieved results, then people in the capital demand that they be restrained by the law. One of the high-ranking officials was worried that once this incident was publicized, it would be detrimental to stability and unity and would seriously harm the reputation of the party. As a result, he had a different opinion on the matter. The Commission for Inspection of Discipline did not agree, however, nor did Deng Xiaoping. The outcome will be disclosed in the ensuing section.

One of these two high-ranking officials is old and the other is "middle-aged" (actually he is over 60). There is no need to discuss the older one any further. People in Guangzhou believe that the younger one is untainted. Except for his oldest son, who works at the Guangdong branch of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, his other three sons are all dishonest. There are problems with their lives and workstyles. It is also difficult to say for sure whether or not they are involved in economic crimes. This high-ranking cadre is one of Deng Xiaoping's men. This presents a difficult problem for an important man like Deng.

At present, the people of Guangzhou are paying close attention to whether or not Deng Xiaoping dares to make an example of an important person who has this kind of a problem. Naturally, Deng Xiaoping is not necessarily involved specifically in dealing with these problems. It is said that several secretaries in the Secretariat of the Central Committee have received instructions to go south to handle this matter.

#### Problems in the Military

In Guangdong there are not only numerous local problems, but there are also major problems in the army.

In the past, as everyone knows, Lin Biao's power in Guangdong was great. In the army there are remnants of Lin Biao and the gang of four as well as cadres under the influence of the Left. They oppose the line of Deng Xiaoping. Deng Xiaoping is determined to resolve this problem in the Guangdong army and in the armies in other areas. It is said that last fall the CCP Central Committee demanded that Guangdong devote major efforts to eliminating the remaining influence of Lin Biao and the gang of four. Consequently, in the suburbs of Guangzhou there immediately appeared fairly large "schools." All military officials who were involved with the gang of four at the regiment level and above were required to leave the army and go off to "study" and "recuperate." It will be some time before we can accurately determine whether or not this measure will be able to solve the problem. Apart from this problem in the army, there are problems of unsound practices and economic crimes. Hu Yaobang once exposed an incident in the air force involving top-grade cigarettes and alcohol. The ordinary people of Beijing and Guangdong also tell how airplanes were used in smuggling gold and other materials. Who can fly airplanes to rush off to purchase commodities, smuggle goods, and resell them at a profit? How could it not be people in the military?

A friend told me that a high-ranking official in the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the CCP may go to Guangdong to help the army solve this difficult problem. Of course this was engineered and arranged by Deng Xiaoping.

#### After Returning to the Capital

This reporter returned to Beijing from Guangdong. As soon as I disembarked from the train I heard that Deng Xiaoping, who had returned to Zhongnanhai several days earlier, was preparing to make a public appearance in order to refute rumors. (Editor's note: Deng Xiaoping had already met with Sihanouk on 18 February.)

Those from abroad who have a good opinion of Deng Xiaoping can now rest assured.

Based on what I learned in Beijing and Guangzhou, most people are still worried. What are they concerned about?

They are concerned that the two phases of revolution, in particular the rectification of unsound practices and the fight against economic crimes, will not be carried through to the finish.

This is actually the sentiment of the majority of people throughout the nation. Reporters are included among these several hundred million people.

Of course, reporters have become aware that Deng, Hu, Chen, etc., have still not relaxed their efforts in the least. It is said that Hu Yaobang is now in a city in Hebei launching a project to rectify workstyle and purge the party.

It is hoped that the concerns of several hundred million people will eventually be relieved and in the end will change to rejoicing.

9864

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## MAO'S ERRONEOUS JUDGEMENT ON HUNGARIAN INCIDENT ANALYZED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 4, 1982 pp 30-33

[Article by Wen Hui [3306 8748]: "Reversing the Verdict on the Hungarian Incident--On a Serious Political Mistake of Mao Zedong on the Occasion of the Sixth Anniversary of the Tiananmen Incident"]

[Text] 1. Clarifying the Important Nature of the Question

The 5 April of this year marks the 6th anniversary of the Tiananmen incident. In the year of the incident, the official newspaper of the CCP Central Committee (under the control of the "gang of four") compared the Tiananmen incident with the 1965 Hungarian incident and called both "counterrevolutionary incidents." Two years after the downfall of the "gang of four," the Tiananmen incident achieved its rehabilitation, and the "counterrevolutionary incident" was finally recognized as what it really was, namely a revolutionary movement, but to this day nothing has ever been written on the Hungarian incident. What then was the true character of the Hungarian incident? This is a question that requires clarification. The present writer believes that Mao Zedong's mistaken assessment of the Hungarian incident was one of the many complex factors contributing to the serious mistakes committed by him in the years following the middle fifties. A new assessment of the Hungarian incident is therefore not only of historical interest, but also significant in relation to the realities of our country's political life.

If I present herewith my limited understanding of the matter, it is with the intention of stimulating a broad discussion of the subject.

### 2. Historical Review

#### (1) The Background of the Hungarian Incident

The Hungarian incident which erupted in October 1956 was a major event that shook the world.

The incident was inseparably connected with the new developments inside and outside of Hungary that occurred in the general situation at that time. As to the internal situation in Hungary, the long-term first secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party Rakosi had introduced Stalin-type socialism in



Hungary and wrecked the national economy. He had also instituted a personality cult, suppressed democracy, destroyed the legal system and practiced a Stalin-type rule of autocratic dictatorship and terror, thereby arousing great popular indignation with cries of discontent rising all round. Under the pressure of popular sentiment, the Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party made Rakosi give up his post, but Gero, who replaced Rakosi, was merely another Rakosi with a different face, and he too was highly unpopular. In short, before the outbreak of the Hungarian incident, the political and economic life of the Hungarian people had become unbearable, and the contradictions among the Hungarian masses had sharpened.

As to the external situation, 8 months before the Hungarian incident, Khrushchev had delivered his secret report at the 20th Congress of the CPSU in February 1956, in which he totally repudiated the Stalin regime. This report led certain Western politicians to believe wholeheartedly that high hopes might become fulfilled and the socialist countries would turn away from Stalinism and return to the capitalist track. They seized the opportunity to launch a propaganda offensive against communism. On the other hand, Khrushchev's attacks against Stalin, though somewhat excessive, had a considerable impact on the fetish of Stalin, as created over the years, and on the customary personality cult that had prevailed in the socialist countries. These circumstances created a strong upsurge of anti-Stalinism and antihegemonistic sentiments in the East European countries under Soviet control which were still tied up in the fetters of Stalinism. On 28 June 1956 a sensation throughout the world was caused by the bloody Poznan incident in Poland, where 50,000 workers staged a demonstration under the slogan "Bread, Free Elections and Withdrawal of Soviet Troops."

This was the background to the Hungarian incident.

## (2) The Historical Aspect of the Hungarian Incident

On 23 October 1956 the masses of the Hungarian capital of Budapest staged a demonstration demanding "Russians beat it, go home (withdrawal of Soviet troops)," demanding an improvement in the livelihood of the people, demanding real people's democracy, demanding the dismissal of Gero, the first secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party, and in support of the return of Imre Nagy, a one-time fitter, then university professor, member of the Academy of Sciences and also one-time Hungarian premier. The Soviets moved tanks into action to suppress the masses. The armed uprising spread quickly to the whole country. Under pressure from the masses, the first secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party Gero was replaced by Kadar and Nagy became president. Soon thereafter a multiparty government was newly organized; it demanded the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, but at the same time proclaimed that it would protect the fruits of socialism, that land, factories, enterprises and banks would remain state-controlled, that measures would be taken to improve the livelihood of the people, that work norms would be lowered, that measures for the compulsory collectivization of agriculture would be stopped, and that furthermore preparation would be made for free elections throughout the country, allowing all democratic parties to participate. Nagy's political views and measures had every chance of bringing about a relaxation in the

general situation. However, the Soviets moved large troop reinforcements into Budapest. Nagy protested to the Russians. On 1 November the Hungarian Government proclaimed its withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact and requested the United States, Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union to guarantee Hungary's independence. From 4 to 7 November, Soviet tanks moved into the Hungarian capital and opened fire on the masses and on the Hungarian military barracks. Several thousand people lost their lives. Then there was a sudden and rapid change of the overall situation: Kadar proclaimed the establishment of an anti-Nagy government. Nagy and several members of his government took refuge in the Yugoslav embassy. On 22 November Nagy left the Yugoslav embassy to return home, relying on a safe-conduct by the Kadar government, but on his way the Russians took him prisoner. On 15 June 1958 Nagy was sentenced to death by a Hungarian court for the crime of "collusion with domestic and foreign counterrevolutionaries, incitement to counterrevolutionary revolt" and "restoration of capitalism in Hungary." The next day Nagy was executed by hanging. One of Nagy's last statements was: "Twice, in 1953 and in 1956, I defended the honor of our country's socialism. The first time my opponent was Rakosi; the second time my opponent was the entire armed might of the Soviet Union...In the future, history will pass a true judgement on my murderers." (For an account of the Hungarian incident, see Kopacsi's memoirs "The Tragedy of Hungary." The author. For the main contents of this book, see the article "I Was a Witness of the Hungarian Incident From Beginning to End," in the present issue of this periodical. The editor.)

Khrushchev was well satisfied that the Hungarian incident was concluded in this manner.

Mao Zedong was also well satisfied that the Hungarian uprising was put down in this manner.

### (3) Mao Zedong Poked His Nose Into the Hungarian Incident

The eruption of the Hungarian incident evoked an extremely strong reaction at the Zhongnanhai in Beijing. Mao Zedong and the CCP described the Hungarian incident as a "counterrevolutionary revolt" instigated by "counterrevolutionary elements." When President Nagy organized his new government at the end of October 1956, Liu Shaoqi secretly flew to Moscow for discussions with Khrushchev. An article entitled "The Reasons and the Development of Our Parting Ways With the Leadership of the CPSU," which was part of the "Nine Commentaries," reveals that Khrushchev originally intended to yield somewhat to Nagy and the Hungarian Communist Party, but due to the firm insistence on the part of the CCP on crushing the Hungarian "counterrevolutionary revolt," the Soviets changed their mind and their methods. This article reads:

"At a critical moment when the counterrevolutionary forces had occupied Budapest, the leadership of the CPSU was ready to follow a policy of capitulationism, intending to surrender socialist Hungary to the counter-revolution."

"These various mistakes by the leadership of the CPSU invited reckless activities from all enemies of communism, created serious difficulties for

many fraternal parties, and did serious damage to the international communist movement."

"In the face of this situation, members of the CCP...firmly advocated taking all necessary measures to crush the Hungarian counterrevolutionary revolt and firmly opposed abandoning socialist Hungary."

Finally, Chinese and Soviet views became identical and as a result the roar of Soviet guns shook the entire city of Budapest....

After the incident, when calm had returned, the CCP dispatched a telegram of congratulation to Soviet Russia, and Zhou Enlai was sent to the Soviet Union, as well as to Poland and Hungary, to hold discussions with Khrushchev, Gromulka and Kadar.

### 3. Mao Zedong's Mistakes

#### (1) Erroneous Judgement of the Hungarian Incident

In every major article that Mao Zedong published at that time and in every speech he dealt with the Hungarian incident and talked of its counter-revolutionary nature. (Cf. "Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 5, pp 318, 334, 337, 338, 351, 352, 355, and 367) In his article "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," he wrote: "Deceived by domestic and foreign counterrevolutionaries, a section of the people of Hungary made the mistake of resorting to violence against the people's government." "Because our Hungarian comrades took proper action in the course of the incident, what was a bad thing has eventually turned into a good one. Hungary is now more consolidated than ever, and all other countries in the socialist camp have also learned a lesson." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 5, p 397)

Chinese communist articles and documents written in that period or after 1956 all follow, in their assessment of the Hungarian incident, Mao Zedong's version. The "Third Commentary on the CPSU Central Committee's Open Letter," which is part of the "Nine Commentaries," not only calls the Hungarian incident an "incident of counterrevolutionary revolt," but also calls Nagy's efforts to improve the livelihood of the people and the economic life "counterrevolutionary measures." The article "The Counterrevolutionary Political Incident on Tienanmen Square" in the RENMIN RIBAO of 8 April 1976 also calls the Hungarian incident a "counterrevolutionary incident." Even after the downfall of the "gang of four" the "counterrevolutionary" label that had been stuck on this historical event was never removed, as seen, for instance, in the footnote to the Hungarian incident on page 329 in volume 5 of the "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," which still uses this hackneyed term.

Is the Hungarian incident then after all a counterrevolutionary incident?

Is then after all the assessment of the nature of the Hungarian incident made by Mao Zedong and the CCP Central Committee a fair one?

No; calling the Hungarian incident a counterrevolutionary incident is a distortion of the true facts, a falsification of history and a travesty of logic. On the question of this incident, Mao Zedong and the CCP Central Committee are guilty of a very great mistake.

First, Mao Zedong and the CCP Central Committee said that the Hungarian incident originated by "a section of the people of Hungary being deceived by domestic and foreign counterrevolutionaries" ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 5, p 397), and that "international imperialism played a major decisive role" ("A Further Discussion of the Historical Experience of the Proletarian Dictatorship"). This article was written by the editorial staff of the RENMIN RIBAO based on a discussion at an enlarged meeting of the CCP Politburo, and does not conform with the true facts. The Hungarian people shed their blood in this struggle and thousands heroically gave their lives. Would the deception of domestic and foreign counterrevolutionaries give such tremendous magic power to make the Hungarian people willingly go to their deaths? Calling international imperialism the decisive factor is disregarding the dialectics of the "priority of internal causes over external causes," as it is also an intentional coverup of the true causes for this incident. Its causes are admittedly complex, but the major factors are certainly the long-term extreme dissatisfaction of the Hungarian people with the line, principle and policies of the Hungarian Communist Party (that is, of its first secretary Rakosi), especially with the mechanical copying of Stalin-type methods, the strong demand to throw off the worn-out old restrictive conventions, the demand to raise the standard of living and for the enjoyment of democratic rights. Had there been external causes? Of course there had been, but the major external cause did not come from the West, but came from Moscow. The Soviet Union's hegemonism over Hungary (including the stationing of troops on Hungarian territory) and Khrushchev's heavy-handed anti-Stalin action had a much greater impact on creating the Hungarian incident than the anticommunist propaganda by Western politicians.

Second, Mao Zedong's view of considering the nature of the Hungarian incident as a counterrevolutionary one actually amounts to designating the Hungarian masses as counterrevolutionary, a mixing up of black and white and confusing right and wrong. The composition of the masses taking part in the incident is complex; there were extremists from the right and the left, criminals, political criminals, bureaucrats and military police of the old regime, and former landlords, but the question is who were the backbone of those participating in the fight? The hard core of the contingents in the Hungarian incident were workers, students and soldiers. As to evil elements that had infiltrated the contingent it is more correct to speak of them as the exceptional, rather than the normal component. In past history and actual conditions, where has the purity of the revolutionary contingents ever achieved the 100 percent mark? Haven't there also been "leftist" and rightist elements among those who called themselves the vanguard contingent of the proletariat? Haven't there also been hidden all kinds of evildoers, careerists and conspirators? Has the CCP not also had its degenerates of the type of Zhang Guotao? Why do you call your own not so pure but still pure contingents revolutionary contingents but call others' not so pure but still pure contingents counterrevolutionary?

Third, when Mao Zedong vigorously clamored for Soviet military intervention after the Nagy government was established with the support of the Hungarian masses, that was pure manifestation of great-nation chauvinism. Even if some of the policies and methods of the Nagy government may have been incorrect, the popular character of that regime cannot be denied. In any case, it is in accordance with the norms of international conduct that the Hungarian people have the right to handle their own political affairs and that no foreign country has the right to interfere (especially not militarily). The military intervention in the Hungarian situation was in conflict with morality and justice and in conflict with proper principles. Mao Zedong played a most inglorious role in the Hungarian incident. One may ask, how many counter-revolutionary elements were there among those who died before the Soviet tanks and before the guns of the Hungarian peace preservation corps? Why the impudence of calling a suppression by military force a "proper handling"?

To sum up, the crux of Mao Zedong's mistake was that he mixed up a non-antagonistic contradiction with an antagonistic contradiction.

## (2) The Test of Practice

Practice is the sole norm of verification of truth. Let practice answer the question whether Mao Zedong's assessment of the Hungarian incident must be affirmed or rejected.

Throughout all the years after Nagy, Hungary under the control of the Soviet Union has been as one of the "children" in the "great family of socialism," obediently following the commands of the head of the family; it had become a base for the expansion of Soviet hegemonism. For many years the Hungarian economy had remained in a state of poverty and backwardness. Only through a most tortuous course did Hungary break out in certain respects from the Stalin-type restrictive conventions and under the precondition of the superiority of the system of ownership by the whole people adopt a structure that allowed coexistence of manifold economic components and manifold ownership systems. The macrocosmic economic policies are under the centralized control of the state; the microcosmic economic policies are carried out in a decentralized way: planned economy is primary, market economy is supplementary. This new system gave the Hungarian economy a new lease on life, however it was an achievement gained only through a course of suffering for over 20 years. Furthermore, this achievement was gained, after all, by breaking out from the Stalin-type mold, while 20 years ago the Hungarian people's efforts of instantly breaking out from the Stalin-type restrictive conventions had met with suppression. Was it not a long historical roundabout road that Hungary has traveled?

How would Hungary have changed if there had been no military intervention in the struggle of the Hungarian masses some 20 years ago? We can well imagine that if it would not have developed at least into a second Yugoslavia, it would have become even more democratic and more prosperous than Yugoslavia. We can also well imagine that due to a chain reaction a third, fourth, etc., Yugoslavia would have emerged in the East European community. This would have been beneficial for the peoples of Eastern Europe and for the international

communist movement and of disadvantage to the proponents of Soviet hegemonism who want to maintain by all means the bases in Eastern Europe for further expansions in Europe and the world.

### (3) The Reasons for Committing the Mistakes

There are basically two reasons for Mao Zedong's mistakes in the question of the Hungarian incident:

First, an insufficient mastery of the theories of scientific socialism and insufficient practical experience. At that time the Stalin model was regarded as the one and only model of socialism. Anyone who would think of shattering this model would be labeled "revisionist," "restorer of capitalism," "counter-revolutionary," and "rebel." As Mao Zedong and the CCP Central Committee affixed this label to post-1948 Yugoslavia and Tito, it naturally affixed a similar label to the Hungarian reformist party. On the other hand, Mao Zedong considered democracy as a kind of "artifice," not understanding that people's democracy is the major objective of socialist revolution and the major content of the political life of the socialist state, not understanding that the realization of democracy was the primary principle of the Paris Commune and that carrying out socialism must implement the principle of the Paris Commune. Whenever the call for democratic freedom arose, Mao Zedong would regard it as "bourgeois liberalization." This was precisely his assessment of the Hungarian intellectuals.

Second, his worry that "a single spark can start a prairie fire"--that the flame of breaking out of the Stalin model, of antidictatorship and anti-bureaucratism might spread to Beijing. This is one of the major reasons for the mistakes committed by Mao Zedong and the CCP Central Committee in the question of the Hungarian incident. Mao Zedong's concern reveals his selfishness. Although he was aware of the high prestige of the party, he also came to know of the many complaints of the people against the old bureaucrats and the Chinese Rakosies of many shades. If the Chinese people should find out about the Hungarian incident, the stability of his own position, his party and his government might become questionable. Political mistakes often originate from greed for power and selfishness.

### 3. The Serious Consequence of the Erroneous Assessment of the Hungarian Incident

#### (1) The Emphasis on Class Struggle

His political worries caused confusion in Mao Zedong's way of thinking. See for instance how at one moment he says that in China "a great upheaval like the nationwide Hungarian incident cannot happen" ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 5, p 337), while the next moment he again says: "I think we should be prepared for major incidents...it would be at most nationwide riots, or a "Hungarian incident" ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 5, p 352). He had just finished stating that "only a small number of people may cause trouble here or there," when soon afterward he changed "small number" into "quite a number of people"--"There are some democratic personages and

professors...who stand opposed to us. Among the students there are also quite a few who stand opposed to us. Since most of today's college students come from exploiting-class families, no wonder that some are opposed to us. Such persons can be found in Beijing, Shijiazhuang and elsewhere." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 5, p 351) He also reckoned that possibly "several million people may rise up against us, occupying a few hundred counties and advancing on Beijing. All we would need to do then would be to go back to Yanan." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 5, p 352) Obviously, the Hungarian incident made Mao Zedong extremely nervous.

## (2) The "Anti-Rightist Struggle"

It seems that at that time Mao Zedong absorbed the experiences of the defeat of the Rakosi regime in Hungary, as he pointed out that the masses must not be suppressed. He said: "Whenever people utter queer remarks, go on strike or present a petition, you try to beat them back with one blow, always thinking that these things ought not to occur. Why is it then that these things which ought not to occur still do? This very fact proves that they ought to occur. You forbid people to strike, to petition or to make unfavorable comments, you simply resort to repression in every case, until one day you become a Rakosi." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 5, p 354) In fact, what he emphasizes with greater strength is the experience of "effective class struggle." He said: "The fundamental problem with some East European countries is that they have not done a good job of waging class struggle and have left so many counterrevolutionaries at large." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 5, p 323) In the light of this experience, Mao Zedong in 1957 abandoned the line of the Eighth CCP National Congress and vigorously proclaimed class struggle. First it was to "lure the snake to come out of its hole" and to "lure the ants to come out of their holes," then to stage a surprise attack by an "anti-rightist struggle" on a broad scale. There is one passage in Mao Zedong's writings which may be underlined for special attention as epitomizing his setup for staging the "anti-rightist" struggle out of fear of a refurbished version of the Hungarian incident and on absorbing the experiences of the Hungarian incident:

The anti-rightist struggle "is a big battle (with the battleground both inside and outside the party). If we don't win this battle, it will be impossible to attain socialism and there may even be some danger of a "Hungarian incident." Now by launching the rectification of our own accord, we have purposely invited a possible "Hungarian incident" and broken it down into many small "Hungarian incidents" staged in various organizations and colleges and dealt with individually. Besides, the party and government have not been thrown into disarray except for a very small section (it is just fine that this small section has gone rotten, for this means that the pus has been squeezed out). All this is very beneficial." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 5, p 432)

## (3) The Increasingly "Leftist" Trend and the Tiananmen Incident

As from the "Anti-Rightist" movement on, Mao Zedong's political line became more and more "leftist." Emphasizing class struggle while class contradictions were easing up with each passing day was bound to lead to one general chaotic

struggle. In 1964 Mao Zedong was oversensitive in feeling shrouded by the shadow of the "counterrevolutionary Hungarian incident," and therefore issued the "directive" to be on guard against a "Hungarian Petofi Club." Guided by the leftist political line, one movement after the other, from the "anti-rightist movement" to the "cultural revolution," was one disaster after another.

Finally, China experienced, quite unexpected by Mao Zedong, its own "Hungarian incident," similar but not completely like the Hungarian incident itself.

If the scribes of the "gang of four" compared the Tiananmen incident with the Hungarian incident, there was indeed a similarity in essence between the two incidents, but not as the "gang of four" said, as "counterrevolutionary incidents," but as righteous movements of the people. Another similarity is that China too produced a Rakosi, in fact not only one, but several; the end of the Chinese Rakosies was even more ungraceful than that of the Hungarian Rakosi.

#### 4. The CCP Should Draw a Lesson From These Experiences

In the last few years many injustices of the Mao Zedong era have been set right. This writer believes that the verdict in the case of the so-called "Hungarian counterrevolutionary incident" should also be reversed. It is especially important that the CCP acknowledge the mistakes committed in the question of the Hungarian incident and the even greater mistakes that followed from the first mistake, and that the CCP draw a lesson from these experiences so that it will not rigidly adhere to outmoded molds of socialism, nor suppress people's democracy, nor lightly ignore the livelihood of the people, nor engage in indiscriminate class struggle, nor allow leading cadres at all levels to turn into bigger or smaller Rakosies.

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## 'CERTAIN THEORETICAL QUESTIONS' RAISE COMMENTS, DISCUSSION

### Comments on Forum Statements

Hong Kong CHI-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES]: "Some Comments on Statements Made at the Forum on 'Certain Theoretical Questions'"

[Text] The article "Certain Theoretical Questions on the Later Stage of the Socialist Transformation in China" which was published while "liberalization" was ascendant in China in 1980 has recently been criticized by Chinese official sources. In order to get a better understanding of the viewpoints of the two disagreeing parties, the writer has studied the special issue published in November 1981 which carried statements made at a forum for carrying out criticisms and self-criticisms of "Certain Theoretical Questions." My comments on that are as follows:

#### A Retreat from Taking Truth as a Criterion for Discussion:

The discussion of "practice is the sole criterion for testing truth" which was carried out in 1978 all over the country has smashed the long time rule of the ultra-Leftist dogmatism over the ideological circles in China and has saved academic research in China from being suffocated. This was an ideological leap forward having profound significance. An appraisal of a theory can be made only by the effects of practice. The recognition of this concept in China has dimmed the glories enjoyed by Mao Zedong. People are beginning to understand that not every word of the great leader is truth. Scholars are no longer willing to play the part of bodyguards of the imperial court or annotators of the Red classics. They are beginning to seek for the rational self through exploration and to secure powerful logical strength from the sufferings and voices of the people. And then they are spreading the results of this thinking to the people.

Yet, all these have grown faint again in the light of the unpredictable political struggles in China. Statesmen who believe in pragmatism do not necessarily derive inspiration and fervor from philosophy. The endeavor to use the four basic principles to replace letting a hundred schools of thought content has begun and the will of the commanding officers again becomes predominant. What the scholars can do is prostrate themselves before the political incantation and mutter unintelligibly, or regret their accidental carelessness. Hu Fuming [5170 4395 2494], the writer of the famous article "Practice Is the Sole Criterion for Testing Truth" attended the forum and

spoke to defend "On Practice." he did his utmost to praise highly the great significance of Mao Zedong's epistemology. It has been pointed out in the resolution adopted at the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee that: "The habit of continuously using the old method and experience, familiar only in the past, but impossible to copy mechanically now in order to wage tempestuous and large-scale mass struggles has led to the serious magnification of class struggle." This part of the resolution obviously pointed out that Mao Zedong had made the mistake of narrow empiricism. Yet, Hu Fuming, the theorist who made contributions 3 years ago in the appraising the Mao movement, went far this time in quoting important words to speak in defense of Mao. He stressed that Mao Zedong Thought is not allowed to be doubted and be tried to extricate Mao from accusations by saying that errors made since the Great Cultural Revolution have been the result of idealism and the personality cult advocated by Lin Biao.

The person who wanted to call back the spirit of Mao Zedong Thought happened to be the one who once took the lead in criticizing the "two whatevers." Historical irony really is endless. Yet, we are unwilling to see retrogression appear once again in this disaster-ridden land.

#### A Priority or Theory of Reflection:

In the living soul of Marxism-Leninism rests the idea of making a concrete analysis of concrete conditions. The value of Marxist-Leninist theory lies in the fact that it has provided a way of thinking which is selective and not a set of ready conclusions or formulae which are always considered correct. The Western academic circles often feel perplexed by the method of seeking proof applied by their Chinese counterparts in judging right and wrong on the basis of classics or quotations.

In the course of the Great Cultural Revolution, the farce of fighting for the quotation between opposite factions holding the same little Red Book showed how ridiculous it was to confine an academic research in a frame of fixed conclusions. The brain, even that of Lenin or Einstein, as a kind of living material, can only reflect a very limited part of the incomparable plentifulness of the objective world, and certain of its functions may not even be comparable to a computer. At the time when Tito opposed Stalin, he criticized by saying "there is only one brain throughout the country." When Lin Biao fell from power, "historical heroism" and a priority were fervently criticized in China. However, seeking for help from words and phrases of Marx and Lenin instead of searching for evidence from daily life and history is still deep-rooted.

From the criticisms of "Certain Theoretical Questions" we can see many examples like this. For instance, the writer has invoked the new economic policy of Lenin to criticize the Chinese Communist Party's "superstructural determinism" and "communism, the paradise; people's communes, the bridge." Critics at the forum, ignoring the strategic "retreat" of the system of "fixing output for each household" which is at present extensively implemented in rural areas, were unwilling to face reality. They complained of the writer "muddling things up," and "publicizing the capitalist theory" of

"making up a missed lesson." The Chinese Communist Party has defined "integrating theory with practice" as one of the "three great work styles." But in practice, it has often been the case that theory is seriously divorced from reality. What has been carried out is not necessarily what has been told.

Even if it is necessary to prove a quotation, "everything is dependent on time and place" should still be the prerequisite. Senior orthodox theorist Huan Xiang [1360 6763] said recently when he touched upon the study of "the doom of imperialism": "The present issue is not to defend or prove the correctness of every sentence in "On Imperialism," but rather to deem it a principle for carrying out the study of new situations and issues. Even individual conclusions made by Lenin under conditions of his time are not necessarily always content." He was very much guarded in his words, but still he expressed his explicit idea.

Maoists in China have taken both a complacent and a conservative stand in refusing to make progress. In 1957, to criticize the "rightist" was to "attack one point without touching upon the rest." Likewise, today they again often complain that new ideas in defiance of the dogma put forward by researchers are "looking upon the overall situation with a limited view" and "deviating from the classics or rebelling against orthodoxy." They can utilize both inductive and deductive methods willfully to make a conclusion of "total repudiation" of socialism on behalf of dissidents.

In the ever-changing new era, we cannot see the possibility for official theories like this to make any progress if they continue to stick to the philosophical thoughts and debates of "not tallying concepts of oneself with things, but on the contrary making things conform to one's own concepts," to seek proof for the classics and excuse for political purposes.

#### The Central Issue at Present:

It can be observed from the special issue of the forum that by looking back to the path of theoretical development in the past 30 years in China, the central issue is still criticizing Mao. Since the viewpoints in this article have been rejected and criticized at the forum, is there any new idea to take its place? This is what we are expecting. Yet, there is none. On the question of criticizing Mao, the critics unanimously repeat only one point of view, i.e., Mao's errors are secondary and inevitable. The reason is that the history of the communist movement is not a long one and it is inexperienced. There is neither a concrete analysis of Mao himself, nor a theoretical summation of the roots of social history.

Mao said in 1956 when he was criticizing Stalin: It is inevitable for a party of the proletarian class to commit mistakes, but it should not commit comprehensive, long-drawn-out and gross mistakes. Unfortunately, the mistakes made by Mao were of that kind and the seriousness of his mistakes was unprecedented. The nation was on the brink of collapse and the people suffered grievous losses. According to the principle of law, even death

would not be enough to redeem his crimes. Can the merits on his earlier days vest in him the privilege of defying laws, human and divine? Is this Republic Mao's dynasty or the land of the people?

The comprehensive, long-drawn-out and gross blunder itself was not caused by inexperience. He could draw lessons from Stalin. People from within and outside of the party had continuously cautioned and resisted him, but he paid no heed. He was bent on having his own way and acted more and more arbitrarily and subjectively. As a result, his mistakes became unmanageable. For all these, does he still deserve to be a "great revolutionary"?

What is the good of oversimplifying such an important issue as criticizing Mao to prevent a repeat of history? The masses of overseas Chinese remain perplexed despite much thought.

By putting emphasis on historical inevitability instead of appraising Mao individually or making excessive political analysis, the writer of "Certain Theoretical Questions" displayed his tolerance and wisdom.

The people, after experiencing the enlightenment movement since the Great Cultural Revolution and Tian An Men Incident, will no longer be fooled on the question of criticizing Mao. In the mind of the awakened people, Mao is dead and discredited. An upright philosopher must hold himself responsible to history and dare to express the ideas and aspirations of the people. Huang Kecheng [7806 0344 6134] said, Mao Zedong is the symbol of the Chinese Communist Party. Correct. When Mao's merits are affirmed, it stands for honor; when Mao's errors are defended, this symbol becomes a disgrace. Our teachers Marx and Lenin have repeatedly exhorted us that to admit mistakes is a solemn symbol of the party. Mao's fall was caused by covering up his errors. This is a lesson from yesterday which is worthy of the Chinese Communist Party is repeated deliberation.

Amazing Frankness:

At the forum, many speakers lectured the writer with the tone of a "senior" blaming him by saying that his style of study is "indiscreet," his style of writing is "unhealthy," and that "he is not serious in study," "superficial," and "deviating." For many years, using vocabularies in "stereotyped party writing" to disgrace a target as frivolous and ignorant without a single redeeming feature has been a usual practice in criticizing the young "pagans." The fact that there was no new idea in criticisms made at the forum says nothing but: Since there are the four basic principles and the Resolution of the party that we must observe, any new theoretical exploration is not called-for. The mission of a philosopher is merely to repeat what the book says and not to overstep the bounds.

This principle which represents the party spirit has at last been revealed straightforwardly by a speaker in a statement entitled "Style of Study, Style of Writing, And Their Effects." He criticized the writer for failing to take the following questions into consideration before starting to write this article on "important issues."

1. Does he have the knowledge and ability to accomplish this mission?
2. Can this mission be accomplished by only one article?
3. Can it be accomplished by one person alone? and
4. Is this a mission of the theoretical circles or one of the whole party?

These four points are really intriguing and worth considering. Then, who should, in the end, handle important theoretical questions? Who can answer these four questions? Theoretical workers should remain silent. It turns out to be that all such demands as the so-called "thoroughgoing materialist spirit" and "to be brave in seeking truth" are phoney. Criticism is not due to their erroneous viewpoints, but to the fact that fundamentally they should not write or think. Writing or thinking in itself is a mistake. To speak out on this true essence without reservation is probably unheard-of previously in the history of academic criticism within the Chinese Communist Party. We would hope that this is not the real wish of the authorities of the party, but the opinion of the speaker himself.

The writer of "Certain Theoretical Questions," failing to measure his own strength, has expressed his viewpoints on the pressing theoretical questions in contemporary China. Without measuring its value, it is still the evidence of enthusiasm, bravery and loyalty of a young revolutionary. He, after all, flies higher than those experienced and prudent scholars. He firmly believes that scientific socialism is bound to triumph over agricultural socialism and bring about real progress to China.

Hegel (Georg Wilhelm Friedrich) praised the 18th Century French School of Enlightenment as "a magnificent sunrise." For over the period of a century we have had great expectations of China. However, she is still hesitating at the juncture of the darkness of the Middle Ages and the dawn of the contemporary age. In the future, what will be the advice the theoretical circles in China can give us?

#### Editorial Department Article

Hong Kong CHI-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES] No 3 Mar 82 p 42

[Article by the Editorial Department: "The 'Bai Hua Event' in the Eyes of Ideological-Theoretical Circles in China"]

[Text] The year 1981 was a time when China strengthened its control over ideology by "tightening up" in an all-round way. In literary and art circles, there was the Bai Hua Event which criticized the play "Unrequited Love" by name and attracted worldwide attention. In the ideological-theoretical circles--the sector which has played an important role in promoting the movement of emancipation of mind, a similar event of criticism also took place. The criticism was aimed at an article published in the JOURNAL OF NANKING UNIVERSITY probing into the roots of the mistakes made by the Chinese Communist Party over the past 30 years. The Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee issued four directives specifically for this event and thus reminded us of its great importance.

The article "Certain Theoretical Questions on the Later Stage of the Socialist Transformation in China" was first published in the JOURNAL OF NANKING UNIVERSITY (PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIAL SCIENCE) Vol 4, 1980. Since its publication, nobody in the press circles has ever raised any objection. Following the issuance of "Documentation No 30" in August, 1981 asking for criticisms of the "trend of bourgeois liberalization," the Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee promptly regarded this article as an example of "bourgeois liberalization" on the ideological-theoretical front and accused it "of violating the four basic principles and going beyond the scope of letting a hundred schools of thought contend." Soon afterward, Nanking University and theorists in various places started to criticize this article internally.

The article "Certain Theoretical Questions" was signed by two names: Ying Xueli [2019 1331 3680] and Sun Hui [1327 6540], but actually they are the same person. It is reported that his name is Jiang Guangxue [5592 1684 1331]. As revealed by relevant articles that carry out criticisms, he is a young Communist, "diligent and eager to learn," "upholding the party and socialism." He has had some of his "good articles" published.

This article contains about 10,000 words. In a self-criticism made at a later time, the writer said: "It is distressful to see the leftist guiding ideology exist in the party for a long period of time and the disastrous effects it has produced. The reason why I wrote this article was that I intended to explore where the theoretical roots of the leftist guiding ideology are, in order to provide a theoretical proof of the various policies adopted at the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee." However, the critics said that his article "is an overall appraisal of the socialist revolution and construction in our country. To speak gently, it looks upon the overall situation with a limited view; speaks emphatically, and is a total repudiation."

What really is this writer's overall appraisal of the past 30 years under the Chinese Communist Party's rule? His viewpoints on certain ideological questions can be summarized as follows:

1. The spontaneous admiration of the Chinese Communist Party toward the peasantry and the vast numbers of petty bourgeoisie in Chinese society showed that the class basis of the Chinese Communist Party is not the proletarian class but the peasant small producers.
2. The Chinese Communist Party, in violation of the strategic thinking of Lenin concerning forming an alliance with the capitalist class against the peasant small producers, launched a premature revolution to extinguish capitalism. It turned back the wheel of history and thus brought bureaucratism and ignorance to the entire contingency of the cadres and a long-standing stagnation of productive power.
3. Obliterating the decisive role of developing productive power, blind faith in political violence, and the use of artificial "class struggle" to carry out forcefully the transformation of productive relations resulted in

absolute equalitarianism which advocated the practice of taking whatever one needs or wants without necessarily making a commensurate contribution and enterprises are both political and militarized.

4. Over the past 30 years, China has implemented a complete ideological line of historical idealism. The roots of its philosophy go back to the work of "On Practice" which embodies Mao Zedong's narrow empiricism. It is inevitable that China will move to the revival of feudal autocracy from the practice of agricultural socialism.

The analysis of China's mistakes and retrogressions of the past 30 years made by the writer is more comprehensive. Although some of his viewpoints have previously been put forward in various degrees by others, yet never was there an article like this one, with such concentrated and systematic expositions and clear-cut and sharp criticisms on critical points. The radical official theorists have difficulty in carrying out such challenges because they are renowned or widely involved. And theorists among the people, such as Wang Xizhe [3769 1585 0772], are deprived of their rights to speak at public forums. Therefore, the emergence of this article is commendable. The readers have no difficulty in finding out that the article is most representative. For instance, the proposition of "agricultural socialism" not only appeared in discourses written by Wang Xizhe, but also in certain newspapers and articles of the party.

The Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee did not give wide publicity to the criticism of the article "Certain Theoretical Questions." Obviously it was because the writer of this article was not as famous as Bai Hua, but only a "nobody." To limit criticisms within a certain norm could "prevent unfavorable effects from spreading." However, the nature and the representativeness of this event was just the same as that of the "Bai Hua Event."

We are of the opinion that in handling a major issue like summing up the experiences and lessons drawn by the Chinese Communist Party during the past 30 years and which is vital to the destiny of our country and our nation, we must continue to "follow the mass line" and adopt the principle of "relaxation." It is not advisable to run the whole show with only a handful of people and to "let one person alone have the say." Pooling the wisdom of the masses can help save and regenerate our country. Now, we are going to recommend this article to overseas readers, and say that we esteem this writer's courageous spirit and sense of responsibility in theoretical exploration rather than value his criticism which hits home.

Since it is an exploration, criticism is of course permissible. The party committee of Nanking University, after receiving the four directives from the CCP Propaganda Department, convened a forum of 16 September 1981 to carry out "criticism and self-criticism of this article. The forum lasted 4 days. More than 10 theoretical workers spoke at the forum. They unanimously criticized the writer as having made "serious political mistakes." The writer himself also successively carried out self-criticisms at the forum. The JOURNAL OF NANKING UNIVERSITY published a special issue in November 1981 introducing statements made at the forum. Owing to the limited space, we are unable to reprint it. However, we attach herewith for reference an article written by Mu Fu [3668 1133] giving his comments on the special issue.